

J. H. Smith.
AN INQUIRY

INTO THE

HISTORY OF SLAVERY;

ITS INTRODUCTION INTO THE UNITED STATES;

CAUSES OF ITS CONTINUANCE;

AND REMARKS UPON THE

ABOLITION TRACTS OF WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D. D.

BY REV. T. C. THORNTON,

President of the Centenary College, Clinton, Mississippi.

WASHINGTON CITY:

WILLIAM M. MORRISON.

1841.

D.C.
T
T5141

326.73

Entered, according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1841, by
WILLIAM M. MORRISON,
in the Clerk's office of the District Court for the District of Columbia.

WOODS AND CRANE, PRINTERS,
Baltimore.

This book cannot be surpassed for
soundness & brilliancy, by the
class of any writer in the United States,
that is saying a good deal.

TO ALL THE

WHITE INHABITANTS OF THE SLAVE-HOLDING STATES

AND TO ALL THE

LOVERS OF THE UNION

THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES,

THIS VOLUME

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED, BY

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

A FRIEND whom we hold in high esteem, in a work of his which was published but a short time since, publicly committed us to examine a Tract of the Rev. Dr. William E. Channing, on "the Annexation of Texas to the United States." After such a public announcement, *though unexpected*, we did not feel at liberty wholly to decline. We procured the tract, and upon an investigation, found its *subject* to be simply *slavery*, and its *object* the *direct, immediate, and indiscriminate emancipation* of all slaves in in the slave-holding states, to remain *here*, in our midst.

This subject had been previously elaborately treated of, by Dr. Channing in two tracts, one of which at least has been *stereotyped* by the *Anti-slavery Association* of New York. Thus, whilst the title and dress were changed, and it addressed to that distinguished Senator the Hon. HENRY CLAY, in order to induce southerners to read it, the *subject* and *object* were virtually the same. These facts and their intimate connection with the welfare of our country have chiefly actuated us, to present to the public our views on the delicate question of *SLAVERY*, as it exists in the United States. In the examination of this, other subjects directly connected with, or growing out of it, were presented, on which we deemed it proper to remark.

On the annexation of Texas, we have said comparatively but little. This is a *political* question. It is not now, and perhaps never will be again before the American people. Dr. Channing doubtless selected it, as he did the *name* of the Hon. Mr. Clay, to secure the circulation of his *abolition tracts* in the south. He knew the interest that southerners take in all that concerns Texas. He knew that Mr. Clay is esteemed an *anti-abolitionist*; but by introducing his name on the title page of his book, in connection too with Texas, he hoped to get a *hearing* in the slave-holding states for his *stale abolition dogmas*.

Should the **TEXANS** ever again ask to become one of our confederacy, *we* feel perfectly willing to leave the discussion on that

application with politicians, and the decision upon it, with the **PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES**. But the *direct* and *indiscriminate* abolition of *all slaves* in our midst, is *another subject* and one too essentially different from it. With this we humbly conceive we have to do. The notice which we have taken in the pages of this work of "the Annexation of Texas," has therefore been chiefly to expose the *object* of Dr. C. and *his abolition friends*, and to illustrate our own views upon the question of slavery, *united by them* with it, and *forced* upon this **NATION in spite** of its resistance.

We expect abolitionists to vent their spleen and pour out their fury. Others will perhaps say that *we lean* too much to slavery. The *former* we do not dread, and humbly ask the *latter* not to condemn us without a hearing. *We never were, are not now, and do not expect ever to be a slaveholder.* We well know that it is customary with some, to pronounce sentence against books which they have never read. Dr. Johnson used to ask every body whom he heard praising, or condemning a book, "**HAVE YOU READ IT?**" Please think of this when you undertake to condemn, without reading this volume. Let a **WISEACRE** who thinks that wisdom shall die with him, take the liberty to denounce works which he has never perused, and pass a *literary judgment* on a man's efforts, without giving him a hearing, but an honest man in quest of truth, should "search and see" for himself.

Our opinions on some points are not perhaps in perfect accordance with yours; do not condemn us for *opinions' sake*. We are entitled to and have liberty to express them. We write not for *popularity, or fame, or money*. We write for our country and country's cause. We too "have cherished the fondest hopes of the preservation of this union," and, although others have written, yet this is no reason why we may not "cast in" our "mite." We love our country. Our ancestors pledged *their all* for its liberty and defence. Forced from Europe by the red hot fires of persecution, they sought a home in the wilds of America, and a house in which *peacefully* to worship their God. The *household stuff*, to the last spoon, and *all his cattle* driven from their fold, *were sold* by one of them, *an aged minister*, whose memory is *dear* to us. The sum procured by that sale he gave to **WASHINGTON the FATHER of his country and DEFENDER of her rights**, with these sententious remarks: "Take it general, if I never get a penny in return. I would to God it were a thousand times more. It will help you to feed and clothe your *poor, naked, suffering* soldiers. I am an old

man I will go to my family, pray for you all, preach to the people, and write ballads, to cheer the hearts of your brave boys, whilst they are fighting the British." Honestly and faithfully has our country paid back every dollar, and all the interest thereon. And shall we not love that country, and a union thus *dear* to one so **DEAR** to us? Shall we forget one of the first lessons taught us by a *fond father* that now sleeps in the dust? "My boys, never count your lives worth a groat when they come in competition with your country's weal."

We believe the cause for which we write is the cause of this union, the cause of our country, and, strange as it may appear to *many*, the cause of humanity and religion. But at least read and hear what we have to say, before that you decide to the contrary. *The day of decision is at hand.* If abolitionism is to thrust its blazing torches, fire-brands and death into our midst, this **UNION** of **STATES** is dissolved as sure as there is a God in heaven.

In preparing the following work, when we found remarks in the writings and speeches of others applicable to the subject in hand, we used them freely, either by a selection of argument, or by a quotation, sometimes *verbatim*. These are generally though not always marked. In some instances the remarks of an author have been so altered, as to render it improper to do so: and sometimes we forgot to mark them. We therefore consider it our duty to acknowledge here, that we have liberally used the histories of the United States by Mr. Graham, and Mr. Bancroft, and also the authors referred to by them, some of whom we have recorded in short notes. We have quoted largely from the excellent works of Mr. Paulding late secretary of the navy, and Mr. J. L. Carey, of Baltimore, on Slavery, and the several answers of Professor Dr. D. M. Reese, of New York, to the abolition and anti-slavery tracts of Judge Jay and others. Frequent reference was had to Henning's Statutes of Virginia at large, and we have taken the liberty to insert a lengthy extract from the kind letter and a considerable portion of the admirable Essay, of Conway Robinson, Esq. of Richmond, Virginia, "on the Constitutional Rights as to Slave Property." Here also may be found several speeches of distinguished gentlemen in favor of colonization. We call the reader's attention to them, especially those by President **TYLER**, Hon. Henry A. Wise, General Bailey, Mr. Rives, and Mr. Maxwell, of Virginia. These and the remarks of the distinguished gentlemen herein quoted, and the letter of President **JEFFERSON**, distinctly point out what ought

to be the true policy of this country. In the last part of the work we give a lengthy quotation from the excellent defence in the Mississippi slave case, entitled "Slaughter v. Groves," by the Hon. Robert J. Walker, of the United States Senate. The author made a free use of colonization reports, particularly those of the Virginia and Maryland State Colonization Societies; one of the latter prepared, we believe, by the Rev. Mr. McKenney. Documents derived from various sources, have also been quoted, which it is unnecessary to name. We take special pleasure in acknowledging here, as we have done elsewhere, our obligations to General Henry Stewart Foote, for some valuable matter quoted from his "History of TEXAS and TEXANS." We have from his pages the letters of Mr. Biddle and Professor Hare, in extenso. Knowing as we well do that every thing relating to "TEXAS and TEXANS," is anxiously sought after by the people of the United States, we commend to the perusal of all, General Foote's History as a most interesting and entertaining work.

Under other circumstances we might have written more to purpose. May we not hope to find an apology in the kindness and goodness of our readers, who are requested to bear in mind the fact, that we were called *unexpectedly*, when in bad health, and when but little time was allowed us by *previous pressing professional* engagements, to undertake and prepare the following pages. On reviewing the whole we see many errors in both the arrangement and construction of sentences. There are quotations of *quaint expressions*, which might have been left out, and some errors in orthography and one or two in dates, which escaped our notice, until it was too late to correct them. It is due to the printers to say, that but a few of these should be attributed to them. It will readily occur, how difficult it must be to print a work correctly, the printers being in Baltimore and the author in Washington, without the opportunity of an interview. We must in truth declare, we have done the best we could under these circumstances. We have endeavoured to write as plainly as possible, because, whilst we desire to be read, we want to be understood *by all*. Pure in our intentions and motives, assured of an effort to do our best, situated as were we, we here present the reader with our views, *plain* and *unvarnished* as they are, on a subject of vital and enduring interest to our common country, *humbly* asking an unprejudiced and patient hearing, and *claiming* only this reasonable favour, **HEAR, BEFORE THAT YOU CONDEMN US.**

T. C. THORNTON.

Washington, D. C., August, 1841.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Dedication	3
Introduction	5

PART I.

That Slavery has formed a part of the domestic institutions of every country, savage and civilized, from time immemorial. That this fact is not only stated in history, but that the existence of Slavery is plainly acknowledged in the Sacred Writings, as one of the relations of society; and that the corresponding duties of master and servant, are pointed out and enforced, in the rules and regulations of both the Old and New Testament Churches	9—57
--	------

PART II.

The fallacy of that application which Dr. Channing has made of the abstract principles of the moral law and natural rights to men, without respect to their relations, the revealed will of God respecting those relations, and the volition of the parties concerned in the premises. That Slavery, as it exists in Virginia and the South, ought, therefore, to be relatively considered.....	59—71
---	-------

PART III.

The right of property in Slaves examined, in connection with some observations upon the remarks on this subject, by Dr. Channing and others. A right to all other as well as Slave property, is acquired originally either by conquest or purchase. That the right to Slave property in Virginia and the South, is the result of purchase, for a valuable consideration in the first instance, and then by a regular descent or inheritance from progenitors. That as this purchase was forced on them, their posterity ought not therefore, in justice, to be constrained to yield the same, procured as it was for an equivalent, and permitted to remain to their injury among them, or sacrifice it in any way to the demands of those who have no right to dictate to them on this subject.....	73—87
--	-------

PART IV.

The duties of those who possess Slaves, to themselves and their servants, in view of the providential relation that exists between them. That these duties have been, and now are being performed in various ways, notwithstanding the misrepresentations of Abolitionists respecting the condition of Slaves. This fact proved by the present mental, moral and political condition of the Slaves, in the Slave-holding States.....	89—129
--	--------

P A R T V.

That a direct and immediate emancipation of all Slaves, now in the Slaveholding States, unconditionally, as it regards their owners, is virtually the plan of Dr. Channing, and avowedly that of the Abolitionists in general. That such an abolition of Slavery here, among us, being fraught with consequences so repulsive to the feelings of the whites, and evidently so dangerous and subversive of the safety of both the white and coloured population, is not the proper remedy against the evil of Slavery..... 131—171

P A R T VI.

The question, who are Abolitionists? answered. That such have neither individually nor collectively, a moral or political right to interfere in the question of Slavery in the Slaveholding States. To the contrary, the constitution and laws of our common country bind them morally as Christians, who ought to obey those laws and politically, as citizens, to aid and protect the South, in their right of property in Slaves. The views of Conway Robinson, Esq. attorney at law in Richmond, Virginia, on this subject 173—219

P A R T VII.

As Abolitionism immediate, direct and indiscriminate, is not the just, the natural, and safe remedy against the evil of Slavery, the question arises what is that remedy? That question answered according to the advice of our fathers,—the lights of history and the almost universal wish of the Slaveholding States. That the remedy which we propose is just, is natural, is safe, is practicable, and promises, from past experience, immense advantages to the coloured population of this country and the savage tribes of Africa..... 221—288

P A R T VIII.

Dr. Channing's pamphlet on "the Annexation of Texas." His special object in addressing it to the Hon. Henry Clay. British predilections its origin. This proved by quotations from Dr. C. Its subject nothing more nor less than Slavery. Its general object. Texas discovered by La Salle, a part of the Louisiana purchase, and consequently, once, a component part of the United States' territory. Captain Weaver's pamphlet in answer to Goristiza. Correspondence between Don Luis De Onis and Hon. John Q. Adams. Articles of treaty between Spain and the United States. The letters of Mr. Nicholas Biddle, late President of the United States Bank, and Professor Hare, of the University of Pennsylvania, on the Annexation of Texas. Remarks of General Henry Stewart Foote. Application of Dr. C's principles to himself. The proper object of our remarks and quotations..... 289—318

P A R T IX.

An Appeal to the North and the South, with some observations on Clarkson's letter to the Clergy of the Slaveholding States. A notice of the excellent speech of the Hon. Robert J. Walker, before the Supreme Court of the United States, and some quotations from it. Concluding remarks..... 319—345

AN INQUIRY
INTO THE
HISTORY OF SLAVERY.

PART I.

THAT SLAVERY HAS FORMED A PART OF THE DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS OF EVERY COUNTRY, SAVAGE AND CIVILIZED, FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL. THAT THIS FACT IS NOT ONLY STATED IN HISTORY, BUT THAT THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY IS PLAINLY ACKNOWLEDGED IN THE SACRED WRITINGS, AS ONE OF THE RELATIONS OF SOCIETY; AND THAT THE CORRESPONDING DUTIES OF MASTER AND SERVANT, ARE POINTED OUT AND ENFORCED, IN THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF BOTH THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT CHURCHES.

THE intelligent and honest inquirer who seeks to know when and where slavery had its commencement, will be astonished to learn, that its origin cannot be pointed to on the page of any history however ancient. In vain may he search for it in musty volumes, the remnants of former days, from which, we derive all our authentic accounts, of those who then lived, and gave laws to, and directed the affairs of man. It is true we have the progress of slavery, but there is nothing certain as to that period, in the which, it first began to exist. In all probability, it had an existence before the flood, and was one of the institutions of our antediluvian progenitors. The curse pronounced upon Canaan, by the venerable Noah, was, that he should be "a servant of servants unto his brethren," the import of which may be, that the history of the world, should be but a record of this fact, that the sons of Ham, in the line of Canaan should, through all

time, be the servants of those descended from Shem and Japheth. Whether this exposition be correct or not, it is certain, that after the lapse of thousands of years, hundreds of thousands of those descended from that youngest son of Ham, are found in every clime, the almost willing slaves of those, who have the capacity and choose to provide for and govern them. So remote at least is the origin of slavery, that it is older than all tradition. It has been one of the institutions of every country, in every part of the globe. It had been said that Australasia formed an exception to this general rule, but subsequent events and a more intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs, and a proper understanding of the regulations of their various castes, alike point out to us, the master and the slave, the one destined to rule, the other to serve: at least, the one in a bondage the most abject, the other exalted, and in the exercise of rights growing out of this exalted relation. It will also be seen, that there, in many places, woman becomes the abject "bond slave" of man, and whilst the latter by custom, which is law, is free from servitude, the former is a slave of slaves. A thousand such, as slaves, stand to watch and guard the palace of their master, and wait and attend upon him and perform, as do the female part of the aborigines of America, all the duties, however menial, performed by slaves. To them it belongs to toil, to bear burdens, and in fine to do, abroad and at home, all that is done, either for the preservation of life, or the sustenance and support necessary to its comfort.

The civilized nations of antiquity owned slaves. The Egyptian history shows not only the existence of slavery, as one of the institutions of that ancient empire, but that the earliest monuments of that renowned nation, as well as those of a comparatively later date, may be traced to that institution. Doubtless there were many slaves in Egypt, before that Joseph was sold for twenty pieces of silver to the Ishmaelites, and carried thither, to be disposed of. And we know that his brethren were, for four hundred years, in that "land of bondage," and by them, no doubt those lofty pyramids, those vast catacombs, and immense labyrinths, which have survived "the war of

elements" and the lapse of time, were all formed. And these Israelites whilst in Egypt, were so deeply imbued with, instead as some say, "washed and saved from the spirit and practice of slavery," that their founder—the founder of both the kingdom of Israel and the Jewish nation, was the master and purchaser of slaves, and, every Patriarch the absolute owner of his entire household.

The Hebrews, it is true, left Polytheism in Egypt, "the house of their bondage," but by their own law, *the law of God*, they carried slavery with them into the promised land. Yea more, a Hebrew master owned the wife, the children and posterity of, even an emancipated slave, and was not accountable for his treatment to that slave, did he live but one day after an injury received, because according to the Mosaic law, the slave is "his master's money." All who have ever read, much less studied the political economy of that nation, also know, that the institution of slavery perpetual, not only existed, but that a creditor might actually sell into bondage the family of his debtor, aye, more, a man might sell "his own daughter." Nor were these the only nations of antiquity who had, as one of their institutions, that of slavery. The Scythians, those ancient inhabitants of the desert established slavery, throughout the vast plains and forests of the unknown north. Babylon, Tyre, and all the countries around Palestine, had slavery as one of their institutions. The wrath of Achilles, sung of by Homer, in poetic strains, was excited by the demand of Agamemnon, the mighty king of men, for the beautiful Briseis, a Phrygian slave. He commanded by right, the Grecian bands, that waged a ten years' war around the walls of Troy. In the quarrel for this slave originated dissensions, which prolonged for years the termination of that contest. Grecian dames, when they went forth for pleasure, or business, were accompanied and surrounded by crowds of slaves. The commercial cities of Greece were markets, where slaves of foreign lands were exposed for sale. Yea more, Greek met and enslaved Greek, and the hero of Macedon, sold the men of his own language into helpless slavery; so that in each Grecian Republic, slavery seemed to be an

indispensable element. The slave markets of Rome were filled with men of every complexion and every clime. There the father had the power to sell his children, the creditor his insolvent debtor, and the warrior his captive; and the influence of this institution was felt in the bosom of every family.

During the middle ages, the channels of slavery it is true were changed. Formerly negro slaves were seen in classic Greece; the traffic in them was commemorated by their oldest historian, Heroditus, and as we have seen it was carried thence throughout the Roman Empire: but latterly, say from A. D. nine hundred and ninety down, all our accounts not only confirm its existence, but go to establish our position, that slavery has existed as one of the institutions of every clime, and country. The Saxon race carried slavery, in its most repulsive forms, into England, where the price of a man was only four times the price of an ox. The importation of foreign slaves was freely tolerated on the continent, there Saxons sold their own kindred into slavery, and even after the conquest in 1102, slaves were exported from England to Ireland, until the reign of Henry the II. when the Irish, who, often have been, more noble than their tyrant rulers, the English, decreed *in mercy*, the emancipation of English slaves, in the Emerald Isle, nor would that traffic have been otherwise staid. On the shores of the Baltic the Germans carried on the slave trade. The Dnieper was the high way through which Russians transported slaves to Constantinople; slaves too, which had been purchased in their own country; slaves who often submitted to bondage, and that the hardest, to relieve themselves from want and wretchedness the most absolute.

The long wars between the German and Sclavonic tribes filled France with slaves; so that *slavery* itself and *Sclavonic* became *synonymous* terms, and our English word **SLAVE** is the enduring monument of that very traffic. At Lyons and Verdun, in France, the Jews purchased them as slaves for their Saracen customers; but in Sicily and Italy the children of Africa and Asia were brought for sale. Aye, more! even the child of the desert, far-famed for his love of offspring,—we mean the Arab,—

in his extreme poverty, pawned his children, the strength of his own bowels, to Italian merchants, vainly hoping to redeem them. At Rome, the imperial, the "eternal" city, were christian slaves long sold, to meet the domestic demands of the followers of Mohammed. Without reference to christianity or infidelity, the Venicians purchased at Rome, and other places, those slaves whom they sold to the Arabs in Sicily and Spain, at a time too when laws, ecclesiastical as well as those of Venice, were in force, expressly prohibiting it. Then the captive christian had no other alternative than servitude or apostacy; but the captive infidel had servitude *any how*, being often treated worse by his christian master than was the slave purchased by one of the believers in the Koran.

In the days of the crusaders the price of a war-horse was three slaves, and the father of Virginia herself, as we all know, had been the slave of a tyrant master. In three thousand battles between christians and Moors, for seven centuries, the captives were reciprocally doomed to bondage, and bigotry and revenge brought in the place of bondage a more horrible evil, utter extermination. The number of slaves sold in the christian countries of France and Italy alone, exceeded the entire number of christians ever sold by the pirates of Barbary. The ministers of religion themselves, who plead against christian heresy, did not sympathize, to say the least, with the afflictions of the unbeliever. When, therefore, the Moors, after their conquest by the Spaniards, retired to Africa, their mercantile cities became nests of pirates, who, seizing on all christians whom they could take, reduced them to slavery, and, on the principle of retaliation, all Africans were considered by all christians as Moors, and were thus likewise doomed to perpetual bondage. Bigotry favored a compromise with avarice, the infidel not being included in the pale of humanity, however it might feel inclined to emancipate even the oppressed serfs themselves.

But let it not be supposed that the christian white man is the author or originator of African slavery. On no! As anglo-Saxon sold anglo-Saxon into bondage, and Hebrew sold or bought Hebrew, *as well as foreign slaves*, and

Greek enslaved Greek, so did caravans of slave dealers carry on from time immemorial, as we have already suggested, beyond the oldest traditions, a traffic in negro slaves, among negroes themselves. The slaves and gold of central Africa were exchanged in the cities and towns of Nigritia, uninterruptedly, for Saracen and European luxuries; and, because that commerce was profitable, it was carried on under the endurance of the vast horrors of a parching thirst, under a tropical sun, without shade, without water, and at the expense of being buried, whole caravans at a time, in the sands of the desert. From the native regions of the Ethiopian race a system of slavery was carried into the very heart of Egypt, as well as on the coasts of Barbary, by these Moorish merchants,—long, very long, before Columbus found a path over the wide Atlantic to the new world. Indeed this traffic was in successful operation at least a half century before the discovery of the new world, among Europeans, and was fully established by them, long, very long, before the colonization of the United States. The history of Europe, and especially the history of England, is, *till very lately, if not now*, but the history of slavery, as we shall see in the sequel. When Antony Gonzalez was ordered, after his voyage to Cape Blanco, to restore his Moorish captives, from whom the Portuguese desired to obtain all the information they could of the regions near that remarkable place, the Moors not only remunerated him with presents of gold, but also “negro slaves having curled hair.” They, on perceiving how profitable a trade in such slaves might become, commenced at once a traffic in them with the Europeans, and with them the Spaniards vied in carrying it on. The merchants of Seville imported them until negro slavery not only abounded there, but was fully established all through Andalusia before that the mighty mind of Columbus had conceived his voyage of discovery across the Atlantic, to gain, as he fancied, a foothold on the fabled islands Cipango.

After the discovery of the new world by that great man, its shores were visited regularly, that from thence laborers might be procured, and the native Indian inhabi-

tants of Hispaniola were imported into Spain. These slavers, trading on those coasts, entered almost every harbor in search of slaves; so that, on the western shores of the vast Atlantic, and especially those along the entire eastern boundary of the United States, from the Gulf of Mexico to that of St. Lawrence, river by river was entered in quest of slaves. The Indians could not be tempted to become factors of slave merchants. The consequence was that the slaves obtained from Florida to Newfoundland were mostly, if not altogether, procured by fraud or force. This is not all: slavers penetrated the extensive Mississippi valley, and from thence procured slaves with which to supply the markets and demands in the West India Islands and in Europe. Aye, more! Columbus himself sent from thence five hundred slaves, native Americans, to be publicly sold at Seville. And when Isabella did afterward consent to the emancipation of Indian slaves then in Europe, in grants made at the very same time, she claimed the right to one-fourth part of all slaves, from regions that might be afterward discovered, and did not extend the favor of her emancipation grant to either the Moors or Negroes of Africa.

He who will investigate the subject will find the practice of selling North American Indians continued near two centuries. Yea, more! the articles of the New England confederacy class persons taken in war as a part of the spoils, and in pursuance of the principle involved in this article the orphan offspring of king Philip, and his mother, the Pequod tribe of Indians in Connecticut, the captives of the treacherous Waldron in New Hampshire, and the Annanon tribe, were all alike doomed to perpetual bondage, and the New Englanders sought on the coasts of Virginia and Carolina to kidnap the Indians whom the colonists south of the Potomac would not enslave, when they could obtain no more at home for disposition. The very year in which Charles V. sailed against Tunis to rescue christian slaves from African bondage, a monopoly was granted and sold to European slavers for the transportation of vast quantities of slaves from Africa, and for a portion of this lucrative monopoly a monarch of one of the free states of Europe stipulated

most positively. This stipulation not being attended to ultimately constituted one of the ingredients in that series of wars which ultimately led to the freedom and independence of the United States of America.

When that rich return cargo of sugar, ginger, and pearls, the price of a cargo of slaves, brought and sold by John Hawkins, from America, attracted the notice of Queen Elizabeth, she, immediately, not only consented to protect by her power and that of the nation, the slave trade, but at once engaged in it personally, and participated in its profits, so far as to become one of the partners of the Hawkins monopoly; and thus that *Pious Lady*, the *HEAD OF THE CHURCH*, virtually endorsed and became responsible for all the vileness and cruelty of the cruel Hawkins, perhaps the most unmerciful and unfeeling slaver that ever crossed the deep. Afterwards engaged and protected by this *Royal Virgin*, his *pious* partner and mistress, in this profitable trade, he on one occasion burned down a village, containing, according to his own confession, at least eight thousand five hundred inhabitants, and destroyed the same *in toto*, obtaining as a remnant for transportation, all saved from its ruins, which amounted on counting them, only to two hundred and fifty. This fair *partner* of the *slave trader* Hawkins, protected him whilst constantly engaged in smuggling slaves into Spanish ports, contrary to their own laws, and the express stipulations of an existing treaty.

Thus we see that on both sides of the water at the same time, this trade was carried on, by the ancestry of those who are now blushing at the thought of slavery, or the most indirect participation in any of its services, products, or advantages, and those too, who cannot consent for the ministers of Christ's gospel even to have the benefit of that support which a Missionary Society can afford them, when any slave owner has contributed a dollar. Yes! the men whose ancestors traded in slaves, whose families and houses were built up by slave trading, who now enjoy the product thereof, dwelling in lofty palaces, as we shall see in the sequel; who forced slaves on the present slave holding states south of the Potomac, for

reasons which are obvious, and if not, shall hereafter be shown; are now decrying the slavery of the south as an iniquity, not to be washed out of the hearts, characters, habits and souls of those, whose progenitors had them thus forced upon them by Dutch, British, Spanish, Portuguese, and *other* cupidity: and who now would be clear of them, if any consistent and safe method could be pointed out for their freedom. In vain may abolitionists attempt, by quoting the case of James Smith and Thomas Keyser, two *pious members* of the Boston church, who were engaged in transporting slaves from the coasts of Guinea to the colonies of America, to show that Boston did denounce this traffic, as they do. In vain may they plead the passage and existence of laws against that traffic, laws in those days were but a dead letter, and *especially* the laws against slavery. Those of New England, like the laws of Penn's Quaker Assembly of Pennsylvania, were only nominal, not being *in general* at all enforced.

On an examination, it will be also seen, that not only did slavery exist in every clime, but there are found those every where, who are ready, notwithstanding their professions, to aid in carrying it on. We know that it is customary to moralize on the abstract questions of justice, liberty and right, and that many who have been either personally, or in their ancestry, the abettors of this evil, are mostly among the first to find fault and condemn it; but see how true this is when viewed in application to the introduction of slavery into the United States, which should also be considered in connexion with what is said about the liberty of England, of New England, and the slavery of the south. It will appear plainly to all who read its history, that the cupidity of the Dutch, the English, and New Englanders, was in fact the true cause of the commencement and continuance of slavery in the southern states on such an extensive scale.

It has ever been the policy of Great Britain to turn her colonies to the greatest present account, without reference to their *peculiar* present or future interest. England saw that the tobacco trade could in Maryland, Virginia, and

other states be made to her, a great source of revenue. On the same principle that she has encouraged the constant introduction of all kinds of ardent spirits into Ireland, the manufacture of and traffic in opium in the east ; but, that of various fabrics in the north ; on this same principle we say, did she insist upon and encourage the cultivation of a nauseous weed, not less deleterious to human health, in the long run, than ardent spirits or opium. The wretchedness, and poverty, and crime of Ireland, might come up before her, but what of that? The mania, and paralysing effects of opium, bringing on mental, moral and physical ruin, may stare her in the face in all the east ; but what of that? Her colonies might have to cry for bread, and actually be endangered whilst forced by the custom house and revenue laws to cultivate tobacco ; but what of that? Though wretchedness, and poverty, and want, and suffering be the result, it must be done ; she knows not to pity. Oppression extreme, is now and ever has been in that policy, which gives manufacturing interests at home such a monopoly, as to make the colonies dependent wholly for their fabrics. Herself the merchant, and the only merchant from whom they are permitted to buy. To augment her own income is the great moving principle with England. It was seen that the planters could accomplish but little without an augmentation of force. It was alike impolitic and unsafe to enslave the Indians, and thus excite their friends, perhaps whole tribes, to become the enemies of the colonists, and the avengers of their oppressed neighbors. But to accomplish her ends and carry out her policy, Great Britain did an act, which unto this day, among the many foul blots on her character, is one which the page of faithful history in the delineation of particulars, will hand down to posterity as the foulest.

“She emptied all at once, her prisons of its prisoners ; she made the colonies a Botany Bay, and sent thither as slaves and servants, as many as one hundred at a time, of idle, dissolute persons who were in custody for various misdemeanors in London, so that the felons and vagabonds transported, brought such evil report upon the place, that

some did choose to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were." These are the remarkable words of that remarkable man, Capt. John Smith, who considered this among the most barbarous acts of the British Government.

Great Britain doubtless supposed that such injustice would be overlooked, in consideration of the assistance that would be derived from them, in executing among the colonists, their plans of industry which were then *daily* extending themselves. Here virtually commenced slavery in the colonies; not in England. Few can point to the time when there was no slavery in England. This act prepared the way for the introduction of negro slavery, by a Dutch ship, which sailed up the James river without any previous knowledge or purpose on the part of the colonists, and, when it was afterwards found by Great Britain, that these hardy sons of Africa, accustomed to the endurance of heat under a vertical sun, could better cultivate and extend the fields of the colonists, she engaged in that work herself as we shall hereafter see, monopolizing the entire African slave trade of the whole earth.

The supply of white servants for the colonies, often as stated above, of the vilest sort or kind of men, from English prisons and alms houses, became a regular business, we may add that it is a fact, as well authenticated as any other, perhaps, in history, that a class of men rose up, who were nicknamed "spirits," that used to delude young persons, servants and idlers, to embark for America, as a land of spontaneous plenty, and "*white servants*, were a usual article of traffic." These were actually sold in England, to be transported into the colonies, and were there re-sold to the highest bidders, under the hammer, or, like negroes, were purchased on ship-board.

This dealing was not only carried on with English slaves but with Scots, who were taken in the fields; also the Royalist prisoners, after the battle of Worcester, then, the leaders of the insurrection of Penruddoc, all of whom were shipped to America. The poor Catholics of Ireland were taken, and sent over to the colonies, and there sold, under circumstances, not less atrocious

and vile, than the acts of British slavers on the coasts of Africa. Men of influence at Court scrambled for the thousand prisoners, who, in consequence of the insurrection of Monmouth, were to be transported, just as they would for any other merchantable commodity. From slaves the most abject and vile, these as it respected their treatment, differed only, in the time or duration of their servitude.

“Judge Jeffries,” said king James II., in a letter, “is nearly done his circuit, he has condemned several hundred scoundrels, several of whom are already executed, more are to be, and others are to be sent to *our plantations.*” This is the language of the sovereign of our ancestors. The prisoners condemned were a saleable commodity, and his courtiers begged, after an insurrection, of their monarch, such presents of *their countrymen* for sale, as his liberality would bestow. Jeffries heard of this, declared they were worth “ten or fifteen pounds a piece,” and, said the astute and learned judge, “if your majesty orders these, as he has designed, persons who have not suffered in the service, will runaway with the booty.” At length the spoils were divided. The convicts, part persons of family and education, accustomed to ease and elegance, were sent off. “Take all care,” wrote the monarch, under the countersign of Sunderland to the Governor of Virginia, “Take all care that they continue in service ten years at least, and that they be not permitted to redeem themselves, by money or otherwise until that term expires. “Prepare,” continues he, “a bill for the Assembly of our colony with such clauses as shall be requisite for that purpose.” But, thank heaven! no **VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE** ever sanctioned such malice. So far from this, the history of the day proves that she shortly after freed the whole of them.

The history of slavery is but the history of Europe, and especially is it the history of England, with all her boast of **MAGNA CHARTA** and British Liberty. From the throne to the common sailor, floating on the wave, men of all religions, vied in efforts to participate in a traffic which yielded so much for so little. The trade

was profitable, and mayors, councilmen, and courts, kidnapped their own citizens, and citizen's sons, and divided the spoils.

One great object of these remarks is to establish the fact, which, it is easy to do, by a reference to history, that the ancestry of those who are now the most forward to decry slavery as an institution, and any traffic or sale of slave or slaves *under any circumstances* as altogether immoral, and indeed immoral in the extreme, were really the most active in it, and were the instruments of riveting it with all its evils, on the very vitals of Maryland, Virginia and the south, in order to satisfy the demands of their own avarice.

This must be apparent to all, who consider with candor, the entire history of the trade in slavery. By these it will be found that the system was fastened on Virginia and the south, and interwoven in all the operations of that part of America without any consent on the part of the corporations, or the emigrants. Introduced by the mercantile avarice of foreign nations, riveted on them by the policy of England; emphatically called *the mother country*, without regard to the interests or will of the colonies. The colonists knew that slavery was not only practised by all nations, but that it had formed a part of the institutions of every country, from time immemorial. No wonder then that they should submit to it, we would rather wonder that any one of them fought against it *so valiantly, constantly, and firmly*, as did Virginia. True, at the north they engaged in kidnapping the Indians and subjecting the same as we have seen to perpetual servitude. True, at the east, the tatooed chief, king Phillip, cried "my heart breaks now that I am ready to die in an agony of grief," when his poor harmless boy, an only child, the future sachem of his tribe, was carried off by the citizens of Massachusetts to Bermuda and sold in bondage, the last of the Massasoit family, to toil under its broiling suns,* and this was the case with thousands of others.

*See Bancroft, vol. 2, from page 99 to page 106, also Hubbard's Indian Wars, 56. Callender's Century Sermon. Church's Indian Wars. Mather's History of Troubles with Indians. Anne Rowlandson's Captivity. Wheeler's Narrative in History New Hampshire. History Massachusetts, coll. 1, 148, 6. Matthew Davis, in Morton, 453 and '6

At the commencement the African slave trade was carried on chiefly by the Portuguese, Spaniards and Dutch, with an occasional supply afforded by the efforts of British and other slavers. But, upon an examination of the history of this traffic, it appears that in time the British nation, under the assiento, the most remarkable feature in the treaty of Utrecht, usurped and claimed it as a monopoly, and as far as it could well be done, the colonists on and north of the Hudson, were actively engaged in it also. The people of the north who had from the commencement, united trade and traffic with their agricultural operations for a living, engaged *heartily* in this work of *importing* and exporting slaves as we have already seen, in the case of king Phillip's son, wife, and others. This was continued by foreign and domestic traders, until New York, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and ultimately Georgia were amply supplied with them as well as many parts of New England. It is true, indeed, the fact surprises us that religionists of every denomination participated therein, not excepting the Quakers, so that "the humane Penn," as he has been justly, we believe, called, "himself died a slave-holder.*

It is said that the receiver is as bad as the thief, and we know that it is customary to denounce the slave-holding states, as receptacles of all vice and injustice,—and coldly to represent their citizens as "men stealers, kidnappers," &c. But let it be remembered that these states owned but a few if any vessels of any sort or kind, never one slaver, and consequently had not the means, if they had the disposition of importing slaves to this continent. Our pious forefathers, Englishmen,—our holy brethren, Catholics and Protestants,—Yes! Protestants of every name, of the national Church, Puritans,—Quakers, did the kidnapping in Africa, or had it done, brought them here, and notwithstanding the repeated protests of some of those, that are now the slave-holding states, especially Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, which we will notice hereafter, against it, slaves, thousands upon thou-

* See Bancroft, vol. 2, page 403, also see Charter of Free Society of Traders, Matlack, in Mass. His. col. xviii, 185, and Penn in Watson, 480—also others as referred to by Bancroft and Graham.

sands, were literally forced on them, by a law which made it obligatory for every man, *to cultivate land* and to *buy at least four slaves for every hundred acres*.

The Catholics notwithstanding the solemn declaration of their infallible Pontiff, "that slavery is unlawful," were found importing them, almost by tens of thousands into Maryland. QUEEN ELIZABETH, the head of the English Church, engaged with her *Church*, a *national one*, most sincerely and heartily in it; and whilst a Quaker would not worship in his family, *when the spirit moved him* to family worship, or in the church, with a negro, he would buy, sell, enslave, and as the history of well attested facts proves, actually oppress the black man *with a good conscience*. It is believed by those who have considered and investigated this subject most clearly, that if the entire State of Rhode Island were sold at one hundred dollars per acre, the sum acquired by such sale, would not discharge the amount of interest alone, apart from the principle acquired, by slaves imported and sold by its inhabitants.

With how little grace does a reproof come from those, who are now rolling in wealth, the price of slavery, to slave-holders who have purchased with money, the fruits of their own labors, slaves, and who are constantly seeking to better the condition of those slaves, and aid them on their way to eternal life. The proceeds of personal toils we all know, are often expended in slave-holding states, in slaves, who might be disposed of, and removed elsewhere. Their owners treat them humanely, worship God with them at the same altar, and train and instruct them for the same heaven. We are capable of proving, that some of the largest estates in the north are the price of slavery. Aye, more, it is said, perhaps we could *prove it* also, with a little trouble, that some of the largest, are the product of the slave trade: and even now, but for the legal obstacles, would not the same men, who live by the slaughter of *seal* and the boiling of blubber, and the disposition of *notions*, often a *deception* and *cheat*, live and support themselves, as heretofore did their fathers, by kidnapping Indians and Africans, and selling them, wherever a market might be found. Do

not many now do it, though the same is proclaimed piracy in the law of nations, as agreed on by the great powers, and consequently done at the hazard of life.

The selfish exaltation of some is such, that whilst it puritanically gives a reproof to their fellows, it does, as we know, often, when an opportunity occurs, turn into a prison for others, the spot that has proved a seat of liberty and happiness to themselves; and it has been said that many who never owned a slave, such as the masters of factories and farms, are among the hardest and most inhuman masters in all God's earth. We will not tell what we have seen and known of such, after that they have removed to the south side of old Potomac. Let him that has never examined into this matter, we say, deny our statements, and look on all this as dust to blind the eyes; for ourselves we are *sincere*, and do most sincerely believe, that it is in our power on this point to carry the war into Africa, and prove that a denomination, now the most forward to decry, was among the first to introduce and encourage slavery in the British colonies; and this it continued to do so long as it was to its own interest to do so. It is true its members now denounce it as iniquitous *under all circumstances*, forgetful that they as a denomination were formerly the very *pillars* and *supporters* of this fabric. Really, the unfair dealing and duplicity which present themselves to him that examines, and the effort to appear one thing and perform another, are but a practical comment on the deep depravity of poor human nature. In 1697, whilst the **QUAKERS** of Pennsylvania like those of other regions, were denouncing war, *all war*,—as iniquitous, is it not astounding that they were voting subsidies to the governor of New York, under the vain show of giving relief to the border Indians, when in fact it was simply to aid in carrying on a war against them, that they might be *enslaved* or destroyed. Subsequently, when called on for more, they solemnly answered that according to their *religious persuasions* and *articles* they would be ready to obey the king's commands: that is, they would vote "subsidies to carry on a war with, and *enslave* the Indians," under the name of *relief* for the Indians. And

although a *salvo* was inserted for the sake of *Quaker consistency* in laws of this kind, yet did they vote sums of money for New York batteries, and as the subjects of a military government, their full contingent to strengthen the sinews of war, a war in which *extermination or slavery* was the result to the conquered Indians.— Thus whilst voting sums of money which they knew would impel the rage of war, and reward the ferocity of savages, whom they had professed an anxious desire to convert; they always attempted, by the substitution of some other alleged purpose, to shift the sin from themselves to their military superiors, or at least to draw a decent veil over acts which they did not wish to avow. Like the case mentioned by Doctor Franklin, of the Quaker assembly which could not vote on a requisition for £2000 to buy gunpowder, consistently with their principles of religion, but would vote £2000 to buy grain for the soldiers.

We have often heard in Virginia, an old time saying of the tobacco negroes, which has in it a great deal of good sense. “That is whipping the *Devil* around the stump.” It does doubtless seem strange that these facts should be found here; we are constrained by duty to notice them: for whilst we regard and respect our brethren of every name, and our fellow citizens of every portion of this widely extended country, it ought to be known, it must be known, honesty and truth and righteousness demand that it be known, as it is plainly set forth in history, that slavery in its origin, lies not as a *sin*, at the doors of those that dwell south of the Potomac. Many north of that ancient river delight in depicting the horrors of slavery, and in decrying southern slave holders, when by *their deeds*, slavery has been entailed on the southern country as one of its institutions. This can only be removed, with especial reference to the safety and true interests of both parties.

The statement we have made concerning the course pursued by our northern brethren, is made only to illustrate what has been the mode of action on the part of those who have seemed *most just*, as they are the *most forward* in denouncing slavery. When Fox visited Barbadoes, and

found the Quaker planters in the possession of slaves, he directed them to train the same in the fear of God, as well, said he, "those that are *bought* with *your money*, as those that are *born* in your families." "I desired also," said that eccentric and good man, "that they would cause their *overseers* to deal mildly and gently with them, as the manner of some hath been and is." How conscientiously the society of *Friends*, called *Quakers*, complied with this, will be seen by a reference to facts. Their purpose, *if it existed*, of taking the advice of Fox, was most easily overcome by such sophistry as that of voting war subsidies, whilst it was to their temporal advantage to do so, and the temptation to self-interest, the contagion of example, and effects of habit, all united to induce Penn, who has been called, and his praises celebrated, the prince of philanthropists, and also his Quaker brethren, to import slaves which were purchased by them, as well as by other settlers; however the kindness of *Quaker manners* may have contributed to soften the evil, and veil the iniquity, if they be so vast as some contend they are, and as we also admit, *in their origin*. Yet it is a well known fact, that but for the German emigration to Pennsylvania and New York, both those states would have been, doubtless, at this day, large slaveholding states, the great hazard of losing African slaves on account of the coldness of the climate when first brought there, and the difficulty of Quaker principles to the contrary notwithstanding. The fact is that the increasing number of slaves, together with the diversity of characters among the colonists, rendered the emancipation of them increasingly improbable; and whilst the annual meeting of the society of Friends gave an earnest admonition to Quakers not to import slaves, that admonition like the voting of war subsidies, was but to give a testimony by profession against, but by *acts* and *deeds* in favor of slavery. To tell the truth, as it appears from the history of the day, it hardly produced an increased concern for the welfare of the negroes. They were seldom if ever admitted to divine service, in the families or meeting houses of their Quaker masters, in obedience to the order or advice of the good John Fox. And the sla-

very of Pennsylvania, notwithstanding *Quaker humanity*, was not on a footing with that of any other colony. William Penn saw this, and presented the form of a law "to better the moral condition of the Negroes and Indians," but his Quaker assembly rejected the whole, and passed a law "for the trial and punishment of slaves:" and whilst laws were passed with great zeal against *scolding*, and against one man's drinking to the health of another, these Pennsylvania Quaker *slave importers*, refused any law for the religious or moral improvement of the condition of slaves. And yet the descendants of these are the lovers of freedom, and liberty shall die with them.

On the Hudson, and north and east of that river, the African had his habitation as a slave. The West India company sent on slaves to Manhattan, now New York, by thousands. Elizabeth, Queen of England, as already seen, was a partner in the slave trade, so were the Stewarts, to the days of Queen Anne, who was herself a most distinguished patroness of this traffic.

The city of Amsterdam owned shares in a slave ship, advanced the money for its outfit, and participated, *in its corporate capacity*, in all the profits arising from its voyages. At that time New York had as many, if not more slaves than Virginia, and STUYVISANT was instructed to promote as far as practicable their sale. This sale was there always to the highest bidder, the average price being rather less than one hundred and forty dollars, and when the monopoly was not strictly enforced, the profits were sometimes greatly in favor of English, to the injury of the Dutch and West India importers. The Dutch merchants who planted New York were always largely interested in the slave trade. By special covenant they furnished slaves for the colony of New York, and also to several others, to any number which they might need; the cold, however, mostly defeated their purpose as to New York. It was found when negroes were landed there, and in New England, being imported directly from a hot, to a climate so cold, if they lived at all, they were comparatively of little service, and almost immediately, and ever after subject to scrofulous diseases, induced by low diet and but little

clothing, in a cold climate. Accordingly, so soon as it was ascertained by the Dutch who had settled on the Hudson, that the climate of the south was more suitable for their negroes, they removed to situations on the Ashley river in South Carolina, that climate being of a mild and warm temperature; and these were afterwards followed by very many of their friends from Holland, and other parts of Europe. On a petition being presented to Pennsylvania to emancipate her slaves, the answer was that it was neither **JUST** nor **CONVENIENT**. The citizens of the little state of Rhode Island, that dealt so largely in slaves, thought that they ought not to be baptized, and went so far as to question the *doctors of divinity and the law*, as to the legality of it. In fact they demanded legal advice on the subject, lest "the negroes should thereby become free and be entitled to hold property."

The commerce of Virginia had been monopolized by the Virginia Company, and it may be added, every one that could, was engaged in the "*White English Slave Trade.*" As we have seen already, the labors and servitude of those white slaves, must necessarily have led by an easy step to absolute bondage. In 1620, a Dutch man-of-war entered the James river, and made sale of twenty negroes. There is evidence almost indubitable, that here this traffic would have ended, if the Virginians had been left to themselves. Thirty years after this period there was in Virginia only one colored or black man for fifty whites; and moreover, after seventy years of its colonial existence, its number of slaves was proportionably much less than in several of the free states, *as they are called*. At the commencement of the war of the independence, as she had constantly previously done, the colony of Virginia protested against their introduction; it imposed a special tax on every female slave. Virginians regarded the African race with disgust, nor could they be induced to traffic with the Dutch, on account of their dealing in slaves; but as slavery was to be forced on them by British tyranny, on their introduction by positive law, they submitted to procure them of whom they could. Nor was she alone in her opposition to this traffic. Other colonies of the

south, the Carolinas and Maryland alarmed with her, at the heavy debts they were forced to incur for slaves, and the obvious danger to their own liberty and safety, and also the diminished price of their staples, insisted on settling their provinces with white men, and gave them the preference. They also passed laws to prevent and restrict the importation of slaves.

These laws will be found on an investigation, scattered copiously through the records of the legislative bodies of Virginia, and those of the Carolinas, Georgia and Maryland. It is also known that as soon as Virginia was emancipated from British rule, at the first Congress she was among those, who legally denounced it. She united with her sister states to do what she had often struggled alone *to do*. She was with them to resist the slave trade, and declare that none shall be imported into these United States. Until she had the power to legislate for herself, she could not do that which she often desired to do before. But at its origin, in an age when the interests of trade, guided legislation wholly, not one statesman dared to second, in England, the voice and the demands of Virginia and Carolina, that such a trade should no longer be carried on, to their great injury. They, called for its cessation; still as we shall soon see, slaves by hundreds, thousands, millions, were forced upon the British colonies of the American continent, by Great Britain herself, who as a nation, has dealt more largely in slavery from *first to last, than all the world beside.*

It is proper that we should give now, as we shall refer to them often, sundry acts of the Colonial Assembly of Virginia, as well as those of other assemblies, in various parts of this work. As Virginia was the first colony settled, so also she must necessarily have been the first to pass laws on any subject. The first Assembly of Virginia appears to have been held by Sir George Yeardly, in 1619. The members of this Assembly were called burgesses, because there were no counties then laid off, and the members of that Assembly represented the boroughs of James Town, Henrico, Bermuda hundred, and other places, numbering eleven in all. The first

record of the laws of Virginia which were submitted to the company in England, was found among the manuscript papers of Sir John Randolph, which manuscript was given by the Hon. Peyton Randolph, his son, to President Thomas Jefferson. They could not be of any force until confirmed by the English Company.—This manuscript is now in the library of Congress in Washington City, D. C., and we copy an endorsement which is in the hand-writing of Mr. Jefferson. On it is written, "The first laws made by the Assembly of Virginia, Anno, 1623." And immediately underneath, in his hand-writing, "This was found among the manuscript papers of Sir John Randolph, and by the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq'r, his son, was given to Thomas Jefferson."

We are thus particular in giving a history of this first record of southern laws, in order that our readers may know from whence we derive our information. It is a remarkable fact, that among the very first recorded therein is an act against oppression. By this act, no Englishman was permitted to arrest an Indian at all for debt, and so particular were our fathers respecting this, that they descended to particulars in their act, and exempted by name, WEANOAK from any arrest or fine. Determined on opposing the oppression which the British Government seemed disposed to inflict on thousands, and especially Indians and negroes, it subsequently passed various acts repelling and resisting the same, and by 29 Act, 1642—3 of 18th Charles I., no person whatever for any offence was to be held to servitude, and by 19th act of the same year, all servants were exempted from being taken in execution for any debt of their owners. Again, servants were only to be corrected for public offences, as were minors, when their masters would not pay the fines annexed as a penalty for those offences. By act 6,—5th Charles I. Poor Indians resident in the colony were to be supported and preserved from want.

Without reference to the particular dates and acts as numbered in the records, we will here refer to their objects, in order to illustrate the fact that *humanity* was the lead-

ing trait in the character of the original settlers in Virginia and the south. They had suffered themselves and they knew to feel the woes of others. But we assure the reader that by the kindness of the librarian of Congress, we have the documents now before us, and could give, if it would not unnecessarily encumber our pages, the specific acts in the language of our fathers.

By one of these, Indian children might be bound to service only by their own parents, to a master of their own choosing, and before two justices of the peace, with the express understanding that their masters were to educate them. By another act, one Indian boy was allowed to be carried to England, with the consent of his parents, not otherwise, and all servants were to be carried regularly to church.

By other acts to prevent oppression, no debts were to be recovered of Indians by legal constraint. The stealing and selling an Indian was punished by a very severe penalty. No person was allowed to buy them even from the English. No debts contracted for such a purchase were recoverable—and on proof of it—the slave was to be returned in ten days and a large reward to be paid in tobacco to the informer. Further, to aid in civilizing the Indians, they were to be paid one cow for every wolf that they killed. Their children apprenticed were not to be transferred to any other master than the one selected by their parents, and to be free and at their own disposal at twenty-five. Their lands, were entailed on them unless the Assembly should otherwise direct. Subsequently all servants were put on a footing with English servants, and were to be carried regularly to church to be catechised, and laws were passed especially to mitigate the oppressions of the poor Irish and Indian servants, and no master was permitted under a very heavy penalty to treat them ill.

By another act of the Assembly, whenever an Englishman encroached on the Indian lands, his house was to be demolished, all the inhabitants were ordered to assist the Indians in erecting their fences, and they were secured in their property. Although taken in war and brought in by Englishmen for sale, they should not be disposed of without a license from the Governor, nor to serve longer

than convict servants from England. By the same act, Wahanganoche, king of the Potomacs, was compensated for injuries done him by fines and imprisonment. Moore Fauntlaroy was declared incapable of holding any office, civil or military, for oppression and extortion on the Rappahannock Indians. Remuneration was ordered to be made to them, and he held to give security for keeping the peace toward all, especially the Indians. Indians taken by Indians were not to be sold in slavery, and all masters were to provide for their servants and slaves, competent good clothing and lodging, their punishment was not to be but in proportion to the offence, and they were not to be sold for taxes. Any negro woman might be set free, and negro Will, the property of Robert Ruffin, of Surry county, was by name emancipated for discovering a plot for conspiracy.

These acts are referred to here to show the bent of the public mind in the south, and to prepare the way for a reference to another point already presented to the reader, viz. that the colonies did protest against and resist as far as they possibly could, the introduction of permanent slavery, which was pressed and entailed on them by British cupidity and tyranny. Shortly after negroes were first introduced among them, "On July 13, 1830, Hugh Davis was ordered to be soundly whipped for defiling his body, by lying with a negress, and this was ordered to be done before an assembly of negroes." Here we have the repulsion, the natural repulsion of the whites to the other, the colored race. Against their introduction they solemnly protested, and so far did they carry this opposition that they punished by banishment as well as a fine of £15, under Act 16, of 3d William and Mary, any white man or woman for marrying a colored person and a woman for having a child by a colored man, was sold as a slave for five years.

When the British Government forced the negroes on them, they also resisted by passing a law that no negroes should be free among them, unless they should leave the country in six months.

This it appears so excited the government in England,

that they passed an order of council that no person should own in the colonies land at all, unless he would purchase at least four negro slaves for every hundred acres of land owned by any colonist. And although protest after protest, and act after act, resisting this, were passed, the governors of these colonies were ordered directly to veto the same. To quote these resolutions and acts is unnecessary. We must, however, adduce one more to show the unconquerable hostility that there was in the southern colonists to the British slave trade, both foreign (i.e.) African, and domestic (i. e.) in English, Irish and Scotch convicts. By an act of April 20, 1670, it appears that, "on the complaints of several of the council and other gent., inhabitants of the counties of York, Gloucester and Middlesex, representing their apprehensions and fears lest the honor of his majesty and the peace of the colony be too much hazarded and endangered by the great number of felons and desperate villains sent hither from the several prisons in England, being read in council, on consideration, it was ordered that such '*jail-birds*,' '*wicked villains*,' shall not be permitted to land." The reasons assigned by them for this were, that in 1663 an insurrection had occurred, being occasioned by Bacon and such, that their reputation as a colony and country was involved in this; that liberty, purity and religion were all endangered by such an unwarrantable and unjust act; and that they would not permit such immoral persons—"jail-birds," "*wicked villains*"—to land! and that this act should continue in force until revoked by his majesty. "On the 25th of November, 1671, Captain Bristow and Captain Walker entered into security in 100,000,000 pounds of tobacco and casks, that Mr. Nevett shall send off these '*Newgate birds*' within two months, according to order." Moreover, as two *young lasses* had unfortunately become pregnant on the passage from England to America, they were ordered back from whence they came, and a double penalty was imposed on adultery or fornication with a colored woman. This resistance to slavery of all kinds and degrees was kept up, in connection with the positive acts of the colonial assemblies, that negroes should not

be free here until 1776, when the determined opposition to the policy of Great Britain on this subject was embodied in that renowned paper, the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America, in the following quotations: "He (the king of Great Britain) has endeavored to prevent the population of these states," "obstructing the laws of naturalization," "raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands," "abolishing the free system of English laws," exciting domestic insurrections among us," to complete the work of death begun under circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages." This declaration was signed by all the representatives of the original thirteen states, and thus the acts of Virginia and the south, in resisting the foul deeds of Great Britain in first introducing and then tampering with the slaves, was vouched for by those great and patriotic men, and they have virtually proclaimed to all the earth that British cupidity and tyranny forced on the south African slavery, with the knowledge of the fact that the colonists had proclaimed by their laws, to them and the world, that those Africans should not be turned loose, free, as it is called, among them. We humbly conceive that all those conclusions at which we may arrive upon the justice of their removal back to Africa, if freed at all, and the injustice to the states of a direct, immediate and universal emancipation of all slaves here in our midst, will be seen most certainly to grow out of these premises. That the south, in continuing their relation, not only acts consistently with herself, but consistently with every principle of sound policy, and for the true interest of both the white and colored races, as well as for the ultimate benefit of both America and Africa. Here they never can be free and enjoy the rights and privileges of American freemen. In Africa they may be free, and there enlighten, civilize and bless the land of their fathers. We have thought proper here, as it is a point to which we must often allude in our subsequent remarks, to give our authorities for southern colonial resistance to the introduction of slavery among them. We shall hereafter allude to other facts. We proceed now to notice more particularly the history of this trade.

Under the treaty of Utrecht, already alluded to, England claimed of the European powers the right of the slave trade by persons whom she should appoint, and agreed under the provisions of that treaty to bring into the West Indies belonging to his *Catholic Majesty* alone, in the space of thirty years, one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred in each one of these thirty years, and she promised to pay a tribute or impost on each head of thirty-three and one-third dollars. Other persons or parties from England, not of the African or South Sea Company, might introduce as many more at a less rate, only no scandal was to be offered to the Catholic religion. Thus it appears that the most exact care was taken to secure a monopoly of the slave trade to Great Britain. She was to have it *entire* for Spanish and British America, and the liberty of trading in slaves even on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, as well as on those of the Atlantic; and this was to be carried on by persons exclusively appointed by England. It is marvellous how this tyrant mistress of the seas did extort the right to fill the new world with slaves. Of this monopoly stock queen Anne took one-fourth, Philip V. of Spain one-fourth, and the other two-fourths were left to the subjects of that queen. So that the sovereigns of England and Spain became the greatest slave merchants in the world, and lady Masham, on the advice of Harley, assigned her portion of this stock, the third fourth-part, to the South Sea Company. Thus, by the sale of a few trinkets for slaves, Great Britain raised a capital which built up and confirmed a British empire in Hindostan. By this treaty, the whole mercantile system, of which the colonial was a material branch, "culminated into the slave trade, and that system of policy which adopted, as the greatest source of income or produce slave labor." Nor did England only monopolize the slave trade; she sought to engross through it every sugar plantation in the world. She excluded colonial ships from the exporting trade of sugar and the traffic in it, in order that she might monopolize the same; and thus was manifested to all the world her cardinal hope of commercial supremacy throughout the world.

The sugar plantations were considered of the greatest consequence to the trade of England, and whilst the duty on rum was nine pence, it was five shillings on every hundred weight of sugar, and six pence a gallon on molasses, imported into British colonies. This last was equal to a prohibition in the colonies of sugar and molasses. The act itself was an evidence of that monopoly which brought an income to the crown of an immense amount, and the grievance was resisted by the colonists as a tax designed to promote the interests of England solely, who by an after transfer of right to the South Sea Company, a company created to delude, and whose foundation was most evidently in fraud, she, *by this sought* to fulfil the contract for negroes, coveting as she did, that illicit commerce in South America. Ambition, avarice, distress, disappointment, and a complication of vices, filled all places and hearts in the British nation. Jamaica was the centre of her smuggling operations, and her slave ships, and her slave traders were the ready instruments of her contraband traffic and cupidity. Encouraged by English legislation and royal favour, the African Company being also mainly forced and led on, by the British Ministry, successively, for one hundred years, aided by independant traders in slaves, from the mother country, poured their thousands of slaves into the colonies.

The New England and other colonies, notwithstanding the almost incessant resistance of the colonies of Virginia, Carolina, and afterwards Georgia, constantly crowded the ports of those colonies, indeed those of the entire new world, under British domination, as did the South Sea Company those under Spanish rule, with slaves, being shielded and supported in this right by the assiento as it has been called, or that part of the treaty of Utrecht, which gave to the British nation the right of trade in slaves for all the western hemisphere. These slaves were sought for, over thirty degrees on the African Coasts, from Cape Blanco to Loango St. Pauls, and from the Great Desert of Sahara to Angola; it may be to the land of the Caffres, differing often in color, language, and physical appearance, and, it must be admitted,

often, not only mercifully rescued from a savage state, (perhaps death) but from a harder, a worse bondage, being slaves at home, to become captives for toil in civilized life. The purchases, when purchases were made at all in Africa, were chiefly with valueless trinkets, baubles and brandy. The slaves procured on these *invaluable* conditions, were convicts, who were punished with slavery, for crimes, or mulct in a fine which was to be discharged by their sale; or of debtors sold into foreign bondage, of children sold by their parents, and of villagers kidnapped and captives taken in war. But the chief source or fountain from whence slaves were procured, was from the vast number of those who were born in slavery.

The despotisms, the customs and the superstitions of Africa, have all, all multiplied bondage in that dark continent. In the upper country or the Senegal and the Gambia, three-fourths of the inhabitants are slaves, whose masters are the absolute owners of their children and all that they have. There, the demand for slaves, whether by the Moors, or the slave ships, was absolutely supplied by the natural increase. There humanity, it must be confessed, not respecting herself, either in her individual, her family, or her national capacity, is debased to the lowest point. If the question be asked, why, notwithstanding the vast number of removals, the number of slaves to this day, is not diminished in Africa? For they could from those, now in absolute bondage, supply the world with laborers, the answer is just at hand. "There, nature unconscious of its powers, in its depreciated state, and the healthfulness of the climate, which is warm and genial, all conspire to that productiveness in the African race, in their *fatherland*, which supplies every vacancy, and keeps up the slave as well as free population, though it be subject at various periods to immense drafts." Cruel England only valued Africa, for her returns of slaves. Her baubles sold at one thousand per cent. to them, would not pay the price of exportation, much less yield otherwise a profit. It was the return cargo, a cargo of slaves, that was to bring the pay, which by oppressive enactments to sustain that monopoly, extorted a price

the most enormous for them, from, as we have suggested, every *landed* colonist. They most generally brought from Africa the youth of that land, the aged and helpless being often left to be slaughtered by their African masters. African slaves were accustomed to a change of masters. Slavery therefore, to them, was, certainly no new thing, with it they were familiar, but a voyage across the vast Atlantic, whither they knew not, was indeed appalling.

The avarice of the British slave traders was the only guarantee for their lives. The slaves gathered sometimes a thousand miles apart, knew nothing of each other, any more than they knew of their British masters.

England with all her boast of *liberty* was inexorable in maintaining this slave policy and system, a system which gained new and stronger supporters by its excess, until at least nine millions of slaves were imported to various parts of the earth, from Africa, chiefly by Englishmen, during the *assiento*, that most conspicuous feature of the Utrecht treaty, into the English, Spanish, and French West Indies, and the colonies of the American continent, including those transported into South America, and perhaps millions thrown overboard, who found at once an end of suffering, and a grave in the Atlantic Ocean. The clear profit of this traffic amounted to at least four hundred millions of dollars, and all this vast amount may be estimated only as the portion of Great Britain *chiefly*, whilst she enjoyed the slave trade monopoly, and the history of slavery will show that she only imported, on the whole, about one-half taken from Africa. Heavens! how gigantic in crime, must that nation be, that now makes such a vain boast and show of humanity and liberty; that talks of a *constitution*, that never existed, and a **MAGNA CHARTA**, of as little value in the hands of tyranny, as a piece of blank paper. Crime was committed under the special favour of royalty, the ministry and parliament, and sanctioned by the entire people, so long as it would yield a profit. No general indignation ever rebuked that enormity, but to the reverse, interest, interest, as it is *now*, ever has been the ruling principle with England.

Queen Anne ushered in the eighteenth century, with royal instructions to the colonies, to give due encouragement to the merchants and *African Company of England*, for the importation of slaves, which we see was promptly resisted by Virginia. Resolutions of the House of Commons, in the days of William and Mary, proposed greater facilities for supplying the colonies with negroes, and declarative of the vast importance of that trade. In 1708 it was declared to be so important that the trade should be free. In 1711 an increase of it was again recommended, and in 1712 queen Anne boasted of finding for Englishmen, another Spanish port for selling slaves. In 1729 George II. recommended a provision for forts to protect those who were engaged in the slave trade, on the coast of Africa; and in the same year, so important in English estimation was this traffic in slaves, that all ports on the African coasts were declared open to *English competition*, for the "slave trade," as "the slave trade," to use the language of that declaration, "is *very advantageous* to Great Britain." In 1750 the British Senate was engaged for two weeks in solemn conclave and debate, to make that trade more effectual and profitable to monopolizing England, and that, notwithstanding *forty-six thousand slaves* had been sold that year, in British colonies on the continent alone. Who will, who can believe it? The result of those deliberations was, that under the treaty of Utrecht, none had a right to participate in that trade but *Englishmen*. Look at the decision of their judges. Holt and Pollinsex, and eight other judges, had already decided that "*negroes are merchandize*"—*property*—as much so as *any commodity*, and that therefore, aliens, under the act of navigation, were to be excluded from its benefits. Public opinion favored and sustained this decision. Neither philosophy nor religion furnished protection to the African on his native shores, against the oppressive and cruel efforts of this Mistress of the Ocean, to enlarge her borders and increase her wealth, by means of this unrighteous and abominable monopoly. Her laws and her deeds were equally regardless of human freedom. In evidence of the truth of this statement, the colonial negro who visited England, returned to his home in America

a slave still. He was not free on that "free isle." The manufacturers also clamored for the protection of a trade which opened to them the African market. They evidently dictated to England herself, if there had been none other to press on it the subject, of an entire and safe protection for, and encouragement to the slave trade. Just at this moment, 1841, for national aggrandizement and the encouragement of a privileged few, possessed of a monopoly, China by England is to be forced, at the cannon's mouth, to submit to a trade in opium—second hardly to any traffic, *in iniquity and wretchedness*, that ever existed. Public opinion in England, and the policy of that monarchy, ever unite to sustain any traffic which tends to this aggrandizement; and from all this it does appear that British policy knows no relentings.

In the importation of Africans across the vast Atlantic, their cruelty was most manifest, and then by force, imposing them on the colonists, in order evidently, according to their own showing, "*to check that spirit of freedom*" which was ever manifesting itself, *especially* among Virginia freemen. Hence it was that in 1745, was published openly and boldly, by British merchants, that manifesto in which is announced, what they declare to be a fact, "*that the African slave trade is the great pillar and support of the British plantation trade in America.*" It is said therein, that if it "*were possible for white men to answer the end of negroes planting our colonies, it would interfere with the manufactures of these kingdoms; and in such case, they might have just reasons to dread the prosperity of the colonies; but whilst we can supply them abundantly with negroes, we need be under no such apprehensions.*" "*Negro laborers,*" say they, "*will keep our British colonies in due subserviency to the interest of their mother country, for while our plantations depend only on planting by negroes, our colonies can never prove injurious to British manufacturers and never become independent of their kingdom.*"

Who can read these cold blooded reasons for such a policy, without looking to the deeds of this same nation, for the support and protection of that policy—by the Indian butcheries on our frontier country, of men, women,

and children, with the battle axe, the tomakawk, and bloody scalping knife?

For these reasons slavery was almost coeval with the first settlements of South Carolina, on the Ashley river. As its warm climate was more congenial to the African race than that of the north, it of course became a great object with those who owned and desired their services, as well as those not having them, who were disposed to settle there, to procure them, and together take up their abode in a land where winters are *comparatively* unknown. And so far from northern and eastern colonists not participating, *by design*, in this work of slavery, almost all the history of the times shows, that whilst they at home did actually, *directly or indirectly*, engage in the trade, by the use of all disposable capital, as far as permitted by the mother country, those in the personal possession of slaves were so much attached to slavery, that as we have seen, they broke up their farms on the Hudson and other places, and removed to Ashley river in South Carolina, where they might stand the better chance of preserving their slave property from sickness and death. These were followed in time by their friends from Europe, because of the prospect of commencing a plantation with slaves at once, under favorable circumstances and the most promising prospects of having healthy laborers. It has been said that those colonies north of Maryland resisted negro slavery from the beginning; we have seen to the reverse. The Quakers of Pennsylvania were the most obdurate of all masters, excluding their slaves from all the social and public worship of the living God, in *unison* with them.

We have seen that Penn, the philanthropic Penn, so far from ever attempting to legislate with his Quaker Assembly for the emancipation of slaves, was himself a slave holder and lived and died such. But little South Carolina, always powerful in intellect and in effort, brave, generous, independent, denounced the entire traffic as iniquitous. As early as 1727 she resisted it, notwithstanding the fact, that, as you proceed south the labor of the colored man becomes more and more valuable, on account of his natural adaptation to a warm climate

The Virginia planters, *those* most dependent on slave labor, also resisted it. Act upon act, as we have adduced, was passed to prohibit the importation of slaves within its limits. All would not do. "SPOTTSWOOD plead this resistance as his apology to the mother country, for the small importations of slaves in Virginia." He said that "they imposed a heavy tax to prevent its being done by the African Company." But by royal authority, that act, and every other were repealed to prevent it. The one, passed with reference to female slaves, by which the institution might not be prolonged, being particularly repulsive to British policy, was unceremoniously repealed. And it was to this cruel policy of the British government that Mr. Madison long afterward alluded, and also to the colonial legislation on this subject, which was counteracted by English authority, at a time too, when that great statesman was certainly unbiased by hostility to England, who when declaring his testimony, remarked that "the British government constantly checked the attempt of Virginia to put an end to this *infernal traffic*." Who is there that has ever examined this subject, that is not ready to pronounce this Virginia censure, on the dark policy of England, most just, and well calculated to exculpate herself *virtually* from a participation in slavery, as to its origin within her limits.

On the settlement of Georgia, Mr. Oglethorpe wrote thus. "My friend and I settled that colony and by our charter, were established trustees. Then we determined not to suffer slavery there, but the slave merchants and their adherents not only caused us much trouble, but at last got the sanction for their admission." Oglethorpe had settled the state of Georgia, with those, who had been rescued from wretchedness, and misery, by the untiring exertions of this most excellent man. He provided all the measures necessary to prevent the introduction of slaves, declaring if they were forced on them, he would desert the colony. Alas he could not, "mould the future" and his resolution lasted no longer than he. What could he do against British tyranny? He could not prolong his powers, or resist that of Britain, much less *British cupidity*. It was artfully effected thus. British emissaries begun

to introduce slaves as hirelings for one hundred dollars, said to be from South Carolina, and in a short time, with an effrontery which proved them duly authorised by the British ministry and sovereign, they imported slaves directly from Africa, landing them at Savannah in Georgia. The colonists on finding that they were of course authorized by the mother country, so to act, did not dare to enforce their own laws, which had such a direct bearing against those of England, they looked to their charter as containing their rights. They recurred to the wishes of the excellent Oglethorpe. Then and not till then did they dare to resist; but behold! tell it not, say you, publish it not! but faithful history has done it *already*, the policy of England found a different plan, by which to overcome their *conscientious* scruples, and these slave-dealers, brought in to their aid the eloquent WHITEFIELD, to plead the cause of slaves, before the trustees, and to point out the *christianity* of slavery. The Moravians asserted too, with *great good sense*, that *christian men may hold and govern slaves, in a christian spirit*, and it was agreed that if negroes are treated in a *christian manner*, the change from the shores of Africa to those of America would be to them an *immense benefit.**

A message from Germany was "if you take slaves in faith and in intention of conducting them to Christ, the action will not be sin but may prove a benediction." This was their doctrine, and what many believe though they be *no slave holders*. Is it too strong to say that thus by moving, both heaven and earth, Great Britain sought to accomplish her ends, establish her policy, and aggrandize her citizens, at the expense of the *conscience* and *humanity* and the *welfare* of all the world?

We have seen that queen Anne gave royal instructions for the encouragement of the slave trade; and also that queen Elizabeth, king James, and we may add, George II., and indeed the sovereigns, ministers, parliament, and people of Great Britain, all,—all not only encouraged it, but forced in every way, both *white* and *colored* slavery, their own interest being the leading motive, on the colo-

* As authority for the part taken by Mr. Whitefield and the Moravians, see Bancroft's History, subject War with Spain, vol. 3, page 448, and also Uhlperger, iii, 479, and iii, 482.

nists, when they could not effect it otherwise, with all the sanctions of christianity. Great Britain, we have also seen, steadily rejected the colonial restrictions. She instructed her governors on pain of removal, not to give even a temporary assent to any law, which would favor its prevention. The earl of Dartmouth illustrated the tendency of the colonists to resistance against the policy of England, by addressing to colonial agents, those memorable words, "We cannot allow the colonies to *check, or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to our nation.*" This was the secret of the whole matter, and if to her benefit she would engage in it again, "*even to-day.*" We have also seen that against the will of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, the English, the Dutch and the Colonists north of the Potomac, were all, in a greater or less degree, engaged in forcing slaves, either directly or indirectly, on those states. In the expansion of population, it is evident that Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia have become mostly the sources of that population, which now occupies the states called southwestern and southern, and any remarks made here, as to slavery in these old slave states, are applicable, *virtually*, to all the new slave holding states; as those removing, must of course take with them the property which they possess, that is moveable. Indeed in many instances they would not have removed, but to find room and labor for an increased population.

The question of tolerating the slave trade and that of abolishing slavery in those states, it is apparent, are very different. They rest on different grounds. The states south of the Potomac resisted the traffic, passed laws against it, imposed fines on it; all of which were repealed by the mother country. They were forced against their will, and that will founded in the principle of liberty, not because the African could not inhabit *their clime*, as was the case *north of the Hudson*, but because they believed it wrong in its origin, and morally wrong to be forced to receive, and have them quartered on them at their own expense. We say they were forced upon them. These southerners had no ships in which to import them, and yet, when imported, they were constrained by an

inhuman and tyrannical government to buy them. An imperial decree went forth that no man should have the right to own and cultivate the soil, unless he should become the purchaser of at least four slaves for every hundred acres of land. This law was resisted; we repeat, it availed not. England said you shall have them. Virginia and the southern states said then we must receive them on our own terms. This right was denied them, an interdict thereof was impossible. But the question of abolishing slavery *now*, when, by the exercise of a power which those states could not control, it was introduced here, is wholly another question. It stands on different grounds altogether.

When slaves were brought here and placed in their hands, it became a trust—it was one they unwillingly received. The other question relates to the exercising that trust, and we think we shall see in the sequel, that we must consult not only their welfare, but our own also, and whilst we do, as far as we can, our duty toward them, we must do also our duty to ourselves and posterity. In the Providence of God the African race are a trust committed to the south then, and although against her will, she must do what she can to exalt that race. She has done it, and she will continue to do it, if left to herself. "Originally gross, stupid and undisciplined in the exercise of reason and imagination, they seemed in their organization analagous to barbarism." Their masters have civilized them, and dependent on them for civilization and light, initiated into the skill of arts through them, through them only can they gain a country, friends and a home; and reposing in them as their protectors and friends, in the proper time be truly a great and happy nation. The slave learns in his second generation, at least, to love his master, to become identified with him and his interest, to look to him as his sure friend, and feel most strongly bound to the prosperity and welfare of his master's family. Even then the condition of an African slave in America, is as far superior to that of a chief, on the coasts of Africa, as day is superior to night.

That America would ultimately benefit Africa, was

always the apology for the slave trade, and although we do not believe that any benefit could justify the outrage committed by European tyranny and cruelty, on oppressed Africa, still, God, who seeth not as man sees, has already brought, as we plainly see, good out of this enormous evil, and will yet bring greater good from it; in the end permanent benefit to injured Africa. Whilst we cannot and do not plead for, or justify the African slave trade, we must say, that the first ship that brought Africans to America, though in bondage, was in our estimation, the *sure pledge* of a union of trade and interest between the two races, *white* and *colored*, and also that in due time, ships from the new world would carry the equal blessings of christianity to the burning plains of Nigritia, and that the descendants of bleeding Africa, would toil for and obtain the blessings of European civilization, sit down, as we believe they yet may, in their posterity, under the wide spreading shade of their own *lovely palm tree*, and bless the God of the white man, on Africa's own vast bosom, that ever they bought, by bondage in a strange land, the blessings of civilized life, and in that land, heard of and felt the power and glory of a living christianity.

It must therefore appear obviously to the considerate and intelligent reader, that the following deductions may be legitimately drawn, not from our preceding remarks only, but from the testimony of faithful history.

1. That slavery is an institution older than tradition itself, and that among others who were in slavery in their own native land, are numbered the Africans in all their tribes.
2. That a portion of those born in slavery, or enslaved to prevent other and greater evils, or perhaps innocently enslaved, were brought originally into the colonies of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, against the will of those colonies, and that by an express law of the mother country, these states were forced to take four slaves for every hundred acres of land which they should own.
3. That those states, the parents and sources of slavery in the new states, *which only received* the surplus and emigrating population, descendants of those who, contrary to their wills, were forced on them, cannot be expected and ought not to be required, to turn loose in

their midst, to their own injury, that population which even now is *comparatively* but in the commencement of civilized and political, as well as mental and moral training. And this a population too, against the introduction of which their forefathers regularly protested; until the time in which they shall themselves deem it proper and safe to remove it. 4. And as it appears that this is the more safe, so it also is apparent that it is the more consistent with the interests of all, and especially so as slavery has, from time immemorial, as herein shown, formed one of the institutions of every land. And as this is acknowledged and recognized in that revelation which God has made of his will, under both the Old and New Testament dispensations, we shall boldly refer to that revelation.

But to this last conclusion of ours there is at once an objection stated, and doctor Channing and a host of others are arrayed against us, proscribing all who dare teach such unscriptural doctrine as this. What! that the Old Testament teaches slavery? Aye, that it does! But it is still more astonishing the New Testament acknowledges it, as an institution existing in society and defines the duties of both the master and slave. Yes! the New Testament acknowledges and admits of slavery; and whilst both master and slave are in the possession of true religion, and do their duty to God and man—"do as they would be done by"—servants are required to serve "as those that serve the Lord Christ," when serving their masters; and masters, "as those that have a master in heaven!"

Come then, let us with candor and honesty investigate this subject. We say the Old Testament inculcates slavery, and admits it to be one of the institutions of God's (the Jewish) church. To the law and to the testimony. We therein learn that Abraham, the father of the Faithful, was the owner of slaves, and a great many of them too, if the Scriptures state, which *we know* they do, the facts. The children of Israel owned slaves—"slaves"— "bought slaves"—"bond-men"—"men"—"women," and "children," and this system was carried with them on divine authority, out of Egypt, into the promised land.

At the giving of the law it was ordered, "thou shalt not covet" "thy neighbor's" "man servant nor his maid servant"—a right of property here being positively affirmed in them, "nor any thing that is thy neighbor's." These were his, as much so as his wife, or his ox, or his ass, or any thing else. Moses says, "the Lord spake from Mount Sinai, saying," &c. Here is a sanction which cannot be questioned by those who pretend to a belief in the authority of the Bible. "Both thy bond-men and bond-maids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are among you." "Of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids." Is it not remarkable that some men will aver "that there is no authority for slavery in the Bible," when there are precepts both positive and inferential, founded on all the enjoined duties and holy examples of the Scriptures? Hear another! "Moreover of the children of strangers that do sojourn among you. Of them shall ye *buy, and of their families that are among you, which they begot in your land, and they shall be your possession. They shall be your bond-men forever.*"

We ask now, with due deference, can God's law be against itself? We venture the assertion, that the entire system of slavery as it is set forth in the Old Testament, is *all couched in this last quotation. Aye! we venture more, that this is the slavery of the United States to all intents and purposes. Originally heathen, purchased with money, begot in the land, an inheritance of children.* It was such a slavery as old Job had, who possessed "a very great household" of "servants" or slaves. Neither the religion nor government of enlightened nations, is fit for those who are in a barbarous state, until they are enlightened also, and fully instructed in all social duties and social relations. A new dispensation became necessary, not to abrogate the doctrines of the Old Testament, but to modify their operation, so as to render them applicable to a new state of things. The wisest admit "that christianity is but a revision of the code of laws contained in the Old Testament, and not a system of laws based on contradictory principles." But in this revision we find that slavery, as an institution, is still acknowledged and continued. Christianity was to enter

into and become the source of light to all nations; strange however is it that no passage is found in the New Testament where slavery is condemned or prohibited. Paley, "the great *anti-slavery* moralist," admitted this. Yea, more, "that there is no authority derivable from the New Testament, which justifies the assertion, that slavery is contrary to the law of God." Christianity leaves us where it finds us, as to all our civil rights and obligations, and therefore it neither alters nor ascertains them. The New Testament contains a complete moral code, exemplified by precepts applicable to every circumstance and situation of life. Slavery existed almost universally when Christ's mission was ushered in, and previous to that, from time immemorial, as we have seen. And so far from its being discountenanced, or denounced as contrary to God's law, as a civil institution, christianity leaves it where it found it.

It is not the part of christianity to war against the established rights of property, much less, as it is taught by *abolitionists*, to endanger the peace and safety of society, inducing, as we shall see, a servile war. Instead of this, the doctrine taught by the first preachers was, "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, with singleness of heart as to Christ, not with eye service as men-pleasers, but as servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart. With good will doing service as unto the Lord and not to man. Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord whether he be bond or free. And ye masters do the same thing, forbearing threatening, knowing that your Master is also in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him." St. Paul came clothed with authority from God, and divinely inspired. May we not ask if slavery had been this mighty sin, *when it had already become* an institution of a country, and *especially* a slavery *forced* on men, "worse," as abolitionists say, "than murder and piracy," and other vile crimes, as we shall see in another place, would he denounce murderers, adulterers, and drunkards, and not those *slave holders*? Do pray let those who believe in the divine mission of Christ and

his apostles answer. "To discharge slaves from all obligations," says Doctor Paley, "to obey their masters, which is the consequence of pronouncing it to be unlawful, would have no other effect than to let loose one-half of mankind upon the other, the most calamitous of all contests, a *servile Bellum*, might probably have ensued, to the reproach, if not the extinction of the christian name." Here is the testimony of one of the greatest anti-slavery men that perhaps ever existed. This does not look much like abolitionism. "To introduce such a state would certainly not have been," says the doctor, "to love their neighbors as themselves," or "to do as we would be done by."

We again say, that as the New Testament does expressly sanction slavery, when it has become by the force of circumstances, an institution of a country, it cannot certainly under the circumstances, which we have already shown, be contrary to the law of God. And where it is thus an institution of a country, submission to it as one of the laws of that country, can never be construed, under the New Testament, into a violation of God's law. How strange, then, does it appear to the unsophisticated reader of the New Testament, to learn from the holy evangelists, that our Lord Jesus, the divine author of his gospel, never once uttered a single sentence against slave holding, that heinous crime which abolitionists say is "worse than piracy and murder." We know that at the time of our Lord's personal ministry, a system of slavery existed under the Roman government, which in point of severity far exceeded that of the United States; and yet he and his disciples, *in no one instance*, bore testimony against it as such a heinous crime in the sight of God. If it were, is it not strange, *passing strange*, that our Lord did not abrogate that part of the law—the *moral law*, which as much forbids the coveting of a man's "man-servant" as the coveting any other species of "property?" Why did he not except this when he said, "I am not come to destroy the law but to fulfil?" To say that it ought to be done, and Christ did not do it, is, *impiously* to charge the Son of God with an ignorance of his mission, of the moral power of his own gospel, or a

most unaccountable omission to explain and enforce it. In the gospel of Luke, slavery is actually acknowledged by our divine Master in these words, "But which of you having a servant ploughing or feeding cattle will say unto him by and by, when he is come from the field: Go and sit down to meat? And will not rather say unto him, make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken, and afterward thou shalt eat and drink? Doth he thank that servant because he did the things commanded him? I trow not." Luke xvii, 7, 8, 9.

The above expression, "which of you having a servant," may, and we believe ought to be translated which of you *owning a slave*. There were no *servants* but *slaves* at that time under the Roman law, by which the Jews and our Lord too, who said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," when he paid tribute for himself and Peter, were all alike governed. We presume Dr. Parkhurst, an Englishman, and an eminent divine, as well as one of the most renowned Greek and Hebrew scholars of his day, ought to be good evidence as to the meaning of the term, even with "abolitionists," who bow with such profound respect before *British liberty*. On the word "DOULOS," which is used two or three times in its terminations in the text just quoted, the doctor says it means "one in a servile state, a servant or slave," making *slave* and *servant* synonymous, as they actually are, and then goes on to show how it is applied to Christ, who took upon himself the "form of a servant" or *slave*, and to Christ's followers, who are the "servants," *slaves* of the living God, as being not their "own, but bought with a price." I cannot but insert here some of the judicious remarks of the doctor on this subject.

First he quotes sundry texts to illustrate his meaning and prove it correct. Mat. x, 24.—Mat. xxi, 34, 35, 36. "And when the time of the fruit drew near he sent his servants" (slaves) "to the husbandmen, that they might receive the fruits of it." "And they took his servants," (slaves) "and beat one, killed another, &c., and again he sent other servants" (slaves) "more than the first," &c. So in Mat. xxv, 21, and the following verses, "well done

good and faithful servant," (slave.) "His Lord (his master) shall say enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." So in 1 Cor. vii, 20, 21, and following verses, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he is called." "Art thou called being a servant," (a slave) "care not for it, but if thou mayest be free, use it the rather." "Brethren, let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with God." Eph. vi, 5, and other texts quoted by the doctor, we have quoted already, or they may be seen by a reference to his excellent Lexicon. He next proceeds to give a description of the condition of these (servants) or slaves, at the time when christianity and its author acknowledged the obligations of *servitude* with faithfulness to their masters. "The common lot of slaves in general," says the doctor, quoting Dr. John Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, "was with the ancients in many circumstances very deplorable. Of their situation take the following instances: They were held *pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus*, for no men, for dead men, for beasts; nay! were in a much worse state than any cattle whatever. They had no head in the state, no tribe, no name or registry. They were not capable of being injured; nor could they take by purchase or descent; had no heirs, and therefore could make no will. Exclusive of what was called their *peculium*, whatever they acquired was their master's. They could not plead nor be impleaded, but were excluded from all civil concerns whatsoever;—were not entitled to the rights and considerations of matrimony, and therefore had no relief in case of adultery, nor were they the proper objects of cognation or affinity. They could be *sold, transferred or pawned* as goods, or personal estate; for goods they were, and such were they esteemed. They might be tortured for evidence, punished at the discretion of their lord, (master,) and even put to death by his authority, together with many other civil incapacities, which we have not room to enumerate." "Truly deplorable," continues the doctor, "was the legal estate of these unhappy persons under the Roman government." "I have the rather," says he, "transcribed the above affecting account of slavery according to the Roman law, because by it we shall be the better enabled

to enter into the full meaning and spirit of several passages of the New Testament, particularly those in the Epistles of St. Paul." To several of those passages the attention of the reader has been already turned. And thus he will see that *servant* (*POULOS*) and *slave* are synonymous terms. And it is on this very account that among the Hebrews and neighboring nations, the greater part of the servants, if not all, being in bondage, were called slaves, as they belonged absolutely to their masters, who had the right to dispose of their persons, goods, and in some cases, even their lives.

Now is it not remarkable, that our Lord and his apostles, should address such and command them to "be obedient to their own masters in all things?" The reasonableness of such a requisition is apparent. Even if the body be killed, the soul cannot, and it is better for one to suffer, than the interest and peace of the whole to be upturned. The penalty of all war in that day, as it is now in Africa, Turkey and other parts, was, when overcome in battle, that the conquered should go into captivity, and become slaves. To prevent future slaughter and harm, this plan for ages, has been adopted by many nations. It was so when the christian church was first instituted, and in view of its origin, of all its overwhelming sufferings and degradation, we find the New Testament writers, enforcing on *slaves*, their duty, and 1. declaring that it is fit, and right, that they should obey, 2. that it is according to the express commandment of God, 3. that upon the whole this course is for the interest of both soul and body. And 4. that such a course would bring to our holy religion the greatest credit and honor, whilst, on masters they enforced each reciprocal and corresponding duty. Hear for a moment the advice and commands to *servants* as set forth in God's Word. Their duties are to be discharged or performed with "humility, fidelity, diligence and cheerfulness." Thus, "exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things not answering again, not purloining, but showing all good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things," Titus ii, 9, 10. And also, "who then is that faithful and wise servant,"

saith our Lord, "whom his Lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them their meat in due season. Blessed is that servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing." But, and if that servant "shall begin to smite his fellow servants and eat and drink with the drunken," then shall he have the merited displeasure of his Lord, Matt. xxiv, 45, et seq.

We might pursue our quotations from, and remarks upon God's Holy Word, in which it is evident the duties of both master and servant are clearly set forth; it never being the intention of the scripture system of religion, to upturn the relations of human life, but to enforce alike on husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, rulers and subjects, the absolute necessity of manifesting their faith in Christ, and the power of this religion, by discharging with humility, fidelity, diligence and cheerfulness, the duties of their various relations. This will be still more apparent by a moment's consideration of the case of Onesimus, formerly the wicked slave of PHILEMON a christian master. He had runaway from this master, and not only subjected him to the loss of his time and service, but from what St. Paul says, it is evident, as I presume none will deny, that he considered Philemon justly entitled in money or property, to a remuneration for the loss of that time. What does the apostle say and do. He writes a letter to Philemon declarative of his conviction of the justice of such a claim. Yea more! he sends the converted Onesimus, *dear as a son* and especially *necessary* to him, in such a time of exigency; he then being in prison, orders him to submit to his lawful master, and pledges himself to that master as security that he should have ample remuneration, for the past unfaithfulness and unprofitableness of this runaway slave. How unlike the example of those who seeking to upturn the government and laws of one portion of this union, by interfering with and violating the rights of others, rob them of that which is their property, under the constitution and laws of the several states, as much so at least as was Onesimus the property of his master Philemon, according to the laws of Rome and the teaching of the apostle.

From all that has been said on this subject, we are forced to conclude that there is not only herein an acknowledgment of slavery, but that there also is enforced the necessity of obedience to masters throughout the holy Scriptures. We have seen that Noah foretold the servitude of the descendants of Ham, Gen ix, 25. And although the descendants of Abraham valued themselves on their liberty, saying, "we were never in bondage to any man," John viii, 33. Yet were the Hebrews subject to several princes, not as freemen and citizens, but as slaves to the Egyptians, Philistines, the Chaldeans, Grecians, and Romans, to each in succession, were they not only politically subject, but in a state of absolute servitude and bondage. We have also seen that under the law of Moses, there were two sorts of servitude, as there are now among us, one conditional the other unconditional. The Hebrew conditional servant or slave, was to be free, if he desired it, on the year of jubilee; if not to have his ears bored and be a slave for life, as he could not possibly live to another jubilee. But those who were able were permitted to own foreign slaves; slaves obtained by capture, by purchase, or born in their own houses. We have also seen that over these, masters had an entire or unlimited authority. They might sell them, exchange them, punish them, judge them, and even put them to death without a public judicial process. In this the Hebrews followed the rules common to other nations, except as they were modified by the humane precepts of the Mosaic code. Whoever will read attentively the 21st chap. of Exodus will readily see, that a Hebrew himself might fall into slavery several ways. Thus, 1. if reduced to extreme poverty he might sell himself. "If thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor and be sold unto thee," &c. Lev. xxv, 39. Again 2. a father might sell his own children according to Exodus, xxi, 27. "And if a man sell his daughter to be a maid servant, she shall not go out as the men servants do." 3. Insolvent debtors might be delivered to their creditors as slaves. Thus 2 Kings iv, 1. Where a prophet's wife is heard crying to Elisha, that her husband was dead "and the creditor," said she, "is come to take unto him my two sons to be bond-men." Again, thieves

not able to make restitution for their thefts, or the value of the stolen goods, were sold for the benefit of those, from whom they had stolen those articles. As in Exodus xxii, 3, 4. He shall "make restitution; if he have nothing, then shall he be sold for his theft." So also they might make prisoners of war, slaves, as in the case of the seven nations. But when a Hebrew slave was redeemed from Gentile bondage by one of his brethren, he might be sold by him to another Israelite; but his master by redemption or purchase, had no right to sell him out of his country. In other respects he was absolute master of him and his. Here was the economy of the *Old Testament church*.

We have also seen that so far from an alteration being made under the New Testament, the gospel came to the nations of the earth not to interfere in their political institutions, but as it found them, so it pointed out the relative duties of each, that peace, harmony, and happiness might be diffused abroad. Let not any man that reads the foregoing, or the subsequent remarks on this subject, think that they are intended as a plea for slavery, viewed in the abstract. O no! We believe that slavery has its evil consequences, that these in many instances are evil, only evil; but that the evil consequences belong mostly to the master and his, not to the slave. In a collective capacity we have shown that their condition is comparatively an exalted one. Formerly that condition was savage, now it is civilized. We have shown that they are a *trust* committed to the Southern States *originally against their wills*, and against the colonial protests, backed with all the power that they had. We have shown that effort after effort was used to prevent this evil, and since that it was imposed upon them, we know that they have done much to remedy it. We have seen that christianity, carrying out the principles of morality, that morality inculcated in the moral law delivered by Moses on the mount, does not interfere in it, only to produce in the master all that kindness and love, which shall tend to ameliorate the condition of the slave, and lead him to everlasting life. We have also seen that it points out to the slave his duty, and that there is in it

the acknowledgment of slavery, as an institution of a country, certainly proper under some circumstances at least. When the condition of Virginia and the South is brought up to the rule of right—the standard of God's Word, if there be now, or ever was a nation free from the charge of entering voluntarily into slavery, it is most certainly that part of our country. And as we have before suggested, the population of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana and Florida, is virtually but the expansion and extension of that of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, if we except that portion of the slave population introduced into the Louisiana country, previously to its purchase by the United States of America, by the original French emigrants. We cannot, we must not forget, that the Old States resisted the introduction of slaves into their borders constantly before the revolutionary war. After that period, in their own legislative assemblies, and in the convention for preparing and adopting a constitution for the United States, it is notorious that Virginia and North Carolina continued faithful, these states manfully fought against the slave trade, and were only forced to consent to its continuance, until the year 1808, by the votes of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut, who came in to the help of those states which desired it. This is a curious fact that faithful history has already recorded, and one, too, to which we shall feel bound to refer at another time.

PART II.

THE FALLACY OF THAT APPLICATION WHICH DR. CHANNING HAS MADE OF THE ABSTRACT PRINCIPLES OF THE MORAL LAW AND NATURAL RIGHTS TO MEN, WITHOUT RESPECT TO THEIR RELATIONS, THE REVEALED WILL OF GOD RESPECTING THOSE RELATIONS, AND THE VOLITION OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED IN THE PREMISES. THAT SLAVERY, AS IT EXISTS IN VIRGINIA AND THE SOUTH, OUGHT, THEREFORE, TO BE RELATIVELY CONSIDERED.

If we understand that system of revelation contained in the Bible, man was originally endowed with great intellectual powers, with a capacity to see and feel his duty; and this knowledge of it, was communicated to him by his Creator. He was not left to find it out by reflection and reasoning, but was made acquainted with his relations, and the obligations resulting from them, at once. It is true, that in consequence of sin, this light became dim, and the moral code of the heathen at least, became imperfect, as it left out some duties and exhibited others, only in a mutilated form. Nevertheless some notion of the moral law has been widely diffused, and traces of it may be discovered, even among the most barbarous and savage nations. So that according to the apostolic declaration, the Gentiles, who have not the written law, do by nature the things enjoined by it, and show "that the work of the law is written upon their hearts," by the operations of conscience, which sometimes accuses, and at others excuses them. See Rom. ii, 14. And whether we view this as the result of tradition, or of reasoning, or the remnant of that revelation once given, or a part of the law and constitution of our nature, it is the same,

they perceive the propriety and impropriety of certain actions. As to the sources of this knowledge there is a diversity of opinion, as well as a difference about the grounds or reasons of moral obligation. With regard to this last point, some will say we are to perform good actions because it is right we should do so,—others will, and do strenuously contend it should be done, because they are conformable to reason and nature. A third, because they are conformable to truth; a fourth, because they are agreeable to the fitness of things; a fifth, because of the general good to which they contribute. The fitness of things has been much insisted on by all metaphysical writers. Their abstruse speculations, hardly to be comprehended, even by the learned, could never be intended as the ground of moral action to mankind at large, and we must look for one more simple and easy to be understood by all capacities.

As nothing is more erroneous, so nothing can be more unprofitable than vain speculations on abstract moral principles. Whoever has properly considered the law of God, must have been forcibly struck with the fact, that it ever acknowledges the varied relations of man, and only points out his duty, as expressed by the Creator, in view of those relations. The moral law has been by some denominated an epitome or transcript of the Divine Mind, and consequently, an expression of the will of our Creator, to whom the good is ever acceptable, and who must be averse in his nature to that which is properly evil. As God is immutable, so he must have been always good, and consequently, have at this moment the same views, if we may so speak, of wrong and right which he has ever had. That is to say, what was opposed to the moral law at the creation, must be now opposed to it,—for, as it is an epitome of the divine mind, it must simply be God's eternal decision within himself, as to wrong and right. The moral law, as proclaimed to Moses, (not the ceremonial or political,) has been construed to be an expression of this mind. It is denominated *moral* because it respects *moral actions*, not ceremonial observances; to distinguish it from positive precepts which were only of temporary obligation. This

moral law has evidently no relation to time or place, or to one nation more than another: and being founded in their relations to the Creator, and to one another, must retain its authority under every dispensation. Our own opinion is, that there is no obligation without a law, and the knowledge of that law;—nor can there be a law without the will of a superior. If a man act contrary to the fitness of things, or utility or general happiness, &c., you may pronounce him unreasonable, but cannot call him criminal. He may subject himself to inconvenience and even suffering, but he is only foolish, not guilty. The utility of a moral rule is taught by some, as the ground of obligation; and hence whatever is expedient, is by them said to be “right.” Paley says, “Actions are to be estimated by their tendency.” Now the fact is, we are ignorant and incapable of judging of the tendency of actions to a good and proper end. We know not whether they are for the ultimate happiness or misery of our fellow creatures. And whilst abstractly we confess this is right, or that is wrong,—when we view men under the providential circumstances and relations of life,—we are called to discharge our duty with respect to these relations;—submitting to infinite wisdom, what we can neither comprehend nor account for, and acknowledging God’s will, when expressed, as the law or rule of our obligation. We are not to confound the effects of a law with the reason of it, nor are we to conclude that because laws are productive of happiness, they are intended to accomplish this end, according to a plan or design in perfect accordance with mortals’ views. They may result from the nature of things, or the relations which subsist in the universe, and the good resulting from them, may be, and doubtless is, but a consequence of the benevolence which gave existence to the system of creation.

Now it is apparent that the details of morality will be affected by the principle which is assumed as its foundation, or by the rule of action which is established. We are not to believe that the same conclusions will be drawn by the person that founds it in the fitness of things, and he that places it in general utility. This forces us to a conclusion that obligation is dependent on, and founded

in the will of our creator, as expressed and properly applied to the relations of life: benighted reason being no more a proper guide, than abstract ideas concerning the moral law, without reference to *God's expressed will*. It is, in view of a revelation to us, evident, that an expression of God's will determines the morality of our actions in connection with the circumstances in which we are placed. Upon due consideration, it will also be found that the will of our Creator is to be the rule of our lives, and by it is to be also determined the morality of an action. What would be abstractly considered a sin, because a violation of the moral law, would be right, when He who is our superior and Creator commands or evidently points out, that it should be done. We take as illustrative of our meaning a few examples. The command of God to the Israelites to destroy the seven Canaanitish nations; *men, women, and innocent children*. Was it right or wrong to do it? Was it not a violation of the command, "thou shalt not kill?" Is not all war, whether offensive or defensive, a violation of this command? Was not the order to slay Agag and his subjects a violation of it? We ask then, wherein consists the morality or immorality of obedience, or its opposite? Is it not in the expressed will of the Creator, under the circumstances, and if so, is *war*, though in it we kill, under all its varied circumstances, an infringement of the moral law? Is it a moral evil? If so once, must it not be so always? Is not its morality or immorality dependent on a law, prescribing the relations of life, or on the expressed will of the Creator? Take another case! It is said "thou shalt not commit adultery." "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife," &c. And yet how is it that polygamy was allowed even in Abraham, "the father of the faithful," a "wife of whoredoms" in Hosea, and that David and Solomon should have "many wives?" Is not the moral law unalterable? Take then the same principle and apply it to the subject of slavery. Whilst every man will say that slavery in the abstract is wrong, and irreconcileable with the principles of right as set forth in the moral law abstractly considered; who will say that under every circumstance slavery is *a moral evil*, an in-

fringement of the moral law, any more than he will say that Abraham was guilty of murder, when by the command of God he made ready to slay his "only son Isaac." The question is simply this, is slavery, *under all circumstances, a moral evil*—a violation of the moral law?

Now we have proved that long before the delivery of the decalogue, there were not only slaves among idolatrous nations, but that the patriarchs had them. Noah prophetically foretold the slavery of a part of his posterity as already quoted, and the decalogue itself acknowledged it, "thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's man-servant nor maid-servant," &c., and we deny that it is a violation of that law under all circumstances. That slavery is *an evil* wherever it may exist we readily admit, and that it is the part of the *christian philanthropists*, to prepare the way for relieving his country from it, we also admit. But we cannot admit that, as it exists in most parts of the United States, it is a *moral evil*, because of its connexion with other circumstances. That these may exist and that under them, the act of holding slaves is not a sin against God, and that property in man has been under some such circumstances recognized in the divine law, and is still so recognized is apparent. Not only so, but there are doubtless circumstances, where it is not only lawful, but a duty to hold slaves, when, without a change of circumstances, the act of liberation would be a sin against God, and one too of the most cruel character. We have seen that the question of right and wrong is universally decided in connexion with circumstances and not abstractly. It is apparent that every sin according to the morality of the Bible, must be an act attended by a number of circumstances, which are essential to the commission of crime. With all these circumstances there may be sin, without any one of them, though there may be a violation of a commandment, there is no sin; and by parity of reason a commandment, obeyed, not in the proper spirit, or attended with all its legitimate circumstances, is no obedience to God at all. And, if we have proved, and we believe we have, that the circumstances, attendant upon slavery, in the United States, *not as to its origin*; but as to its continuance, until a proper time for

its relief, are of such character, it is not a sin. On whatever ground the precepts of the moral law may be supposed to rest, the reason why we are bound to obey them, is the will of God. This makes them law to us, and not our perceptions of their fitness or utility. That only is a law, which proceeds from the will of a superior, obedience and authority are correlates, the one supposes the other. To us who enjoy revelation, questions concerning the abstract foundations of morality, are unnecessary, and the best thing which can be said of them is, that they are idle speculations, because our morality will not constitute a part of religion, unless it respects his will. The man who believes that his duty is enjoined by the authority of God, possesses all the requisite knowledge for practical purposes, and *this will*, under the circumstances, he must be governed by, a true knowledge of the subject and duty arising in the proper consideration of those circumstances. When we attempt to derive our obligations from any other source, we turn morality into a matter of calculation. We are incompetent to decide as to general good, or as to the fitness of things; we decide only as God's word allows or commands under existing circumstances. This brings our duty within the scope of every man. From the Old Testament we have seen that *property* in man however *some* may stare at it, was allowed, and moreover that slavery in some form existed not only at the patriarchal day, but from time immemorial. That God not only permitted it, but absolutely provided for its perpetuity. That in the precepts of the New Testament the relation of master and slave is not only acknowledged, but remained undisturbed, each one having his appropriate duty pointed out, and that the rights of the master as the owner of slave property, are protected by express law. The act of holding a slave then under all circumstances, *God being judge*, is not a sin.

All therefore, that doctor Channing has said on the subject of slavery as a sin, is of no avail, when viewed in the lights of revelation, and in connexion with surrounding circumstances. We admit with him that *men* have sacred rights, and *women* and *children* too. We go farther, and say, that the rights of men are different from

those of women, under God's law, because that their circumstances are different; and that the rights of children are different from both, for the same reason. Moreover it is evident that doctor Channing agrees with us in this. Let us refer to his chapter of explanations, given to prevent the misapplication of his own principles. We agree with the Doctor, as to many of the evils of slavery, but our views as to the means of removing it, are very different; and we differ with him on abolitionism "*toto celo.*"

Having made these remarks on moral obligation, and on slavery in general, we propose distinctly to consider what has been said by doctor Channing and others, on it as it exists in the United States, and of the duties of those states in which it exists, under present circumstances. Now, whilst we most cheerfully accord to the Doctor, the meed of praise for his attainments and his *professed disinterested benevolence*, we are forced to the conclusion, that like too many others, he has every kind of sense but common sense. If he would only look at things as they exist, and then seek a remedy, all might be well; for the lack of this, we find a combination of abstract principles, which, on account of circumstances, as we believe it is easy to prove, are almost wholly inapplicable to this important subject—a subject of vital interest to all that portion of the United States, south of the Potomac. The phrases "rights of man," "natural rights," &c. have been well pronounced to be, by an estimable author, Mr. J. L. Carey, very ambiguous terms, on which it is unsafe to bottom general reasonings. As rights are most evidently conditional, the proper measure of them is to be found in the character of the man. Thus to the possession of every right, is annexed the performance of a corresponding duty, as the tenure by which it is held. This performance ceasing, the right evidently fails. Not that certain rights are attached to certain duties, by way of recompense, for the sake of which a man is called on to perform the duties, but in the nature of things, this very connection exists. There is nothing of exaction or oppression in one man's possessing rights more extensive than another, for they are almost instinctively awarded to him. The principle

upon which a person refrains from violating the estate of his neighbor, is of a kindred nature with that which prompts one to pay respect to a good and great man, venerable by age, and still more august by reason of a life of honorable services. In proportion as new relations arise, a man's rights enlarge. A man acquires a right to land by improving it, supposing it to have been before common. That is, a value is imparted to it, which being derived from himself, constitutes it his own peculiar property. Are the rights of the philosopher and the untaught savage the same? Are the rights of the holy christian and the profligate wretch identical? Or those of the virtuous woman and the prude? We know that much is said, and much too has been written about "inalienable rights," all which seem to us absurd, unless they be inherent and absolute. If they can be *acquired* they may be *lost*, and the daily decisions of courts of justice prove it; and whilst we admit that all men have the right to political freedom, we can easily see how a people may, by their ignorance and vices not only prove, but actually render themselves unfit for its enjoyment or exercise. Take then such a people and place them on an equality in every respect, with the most refined, the civilized and the virtuous. Who does not see that it would be to plunge one or the other into scenes of violence and bloodshed, so that despotism the vilest, must necessarily ensue? It has been well said, that "such a people are not made slaves by the usurpation of a king, they make themselves slaves." Yes! slaves of the most degraded character! We do not mean by these remarks, to say that personal freedom is not the undoubted right which every man *ought* to possess, because no man *ought* to render himself or posterity incapable of using it properly. Who will admit that slavery, as a permanent institution of a country, is right? Not one *perhaps*, if it be viewed in the abstract. But those who are acquainted with no other condition than that of servitude, who are satisfied with their situation, and desire no other, being unfit for it, are not only unconscious of injury, but indeed suffer none, except so far as the power of the master is used in a tyrannical manner, for purposes of cruelty or mere gain, and with

no view of elevating the slave, in order that he and his posterity may ultimately emerge with safety, into a condition that is more becoming and congenial with the nature of a rational intelligence.

And from this view of the subject, we think that political slavery is the only suitable condition for some people for a time, and indeed, that personal servitude on account of the imbecility of others, is their most appropriate station.

In view then of these principles, it is obvious that it is only by reason of the conditions of the case, that this relation becomes proper at all, as we have already argued. "Who finds fault with a child because he is not a man? Or who expects from him the government of a man?" is asked by one. Does not, we will ask, parental authority find restraint over children indispensable, and will any complain of it as tyrannical? Can any man suppose that the same rule of subordination is equally applicable to the strong and imbecile, the learned and the untaught, the civilized and barbarian? Indeed civilization and barbarism are extremes, the one takes the position of personal control, the other of personal servitude. This will lead, as has been justly said when deciding on the morality of slavery, to an inquiry into the true condition of the enslaved. "Were they free and civilized before?" is a very important question. Were they capable of self-government? If they were, then the most incalculable injury has been done them. Take the case of Poland as enslaved by Russia, and Greece as enslaved by Turkey. Here the injury was extreme, and their subjugation most unjust. So also has violence been used in their government? God's law would condemn it, but even in this, men run into absurdities, where they abstractly consider them, without regard to condition. For although slavery, from its great liability to abuse, may become the greatest evil that can befall a man, yet it is certain that it may be a voluntary, and indeed sometimes a necessary relation, which may subsist to the mutual advantage of both parties, to the benefit of both master and slave. It may be also most easily perceived, how the Almighty God may design a blessing to a degraded people, by plac-

ing them in bondage, among a civilized community, not with a view to perpetuate slavery as such, but as the means of receiving the elements of useful knowledge and morals, and return the same back on the bosom of that community from which they sprang. We are sure heathens could not well receive the elements of civilization in any other way. True, the course of discipline is a severe one, but can an individual attain to wisdom and virtue without schooling? Certainly not. And how could it be otherwise with a nation? Besides, this process must be in the same ratio with the state of degradation. And we affirm it as our opinion, that so far from slavery being the violation of all rights, and the consummation of all wrongs, we cannot conceive how an uncivilized race can exist among civilized communities, if brought thither, in any other relation. Could they maintain any other, until after a due course of instruction and discipline, with prudence and safety to both parties, that relation might be changed? Does not all history prove that an ignorant savage, when thrown into the society of civilized man, instantaneously regards him as his superior? Does he not reverence and obey him? Conscious of his own ignorance, he ardently desires to learn, and willingly submits to such an one as his superior. Could the one, we ask, impart that knowledge without obedience, or the other, who receives it, have any return to make, but that of personal service? Here, to all intents and purposes, the relation of master and slave must actually exist. Modern abolitionists would teach such an one, that his master is a "*man stealer*," a "*tyrant*," and force that servant to become a *black hearted, revengeful murderer*.

The apostolic injunction already quoted by us, "servants be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart as unto Christ," and, on the other hand, "ye masters do the same thing unto them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your master is in heaven, neither is their respect of persons with him." Eph. vi, 5, 9, shows us that the situation of a master is one of great danger and difficulty. This is admitted. That it may afford an occasion for the exercise of great injustice is also admitted. A bad

man will be bad any where and any how. The situation is not certainly a desirable one, and is evidently one of great responsibility. Providence has appointed the master to be the guardian of his servants, and where this responsibility comes in the proper order of things—we mean by inheritance, or by purchase, in a country where slavery exists as one of its institutions, it is certainly not a mark of magnanimity for a man to cast them off, and shun it, and under pretence of *setting them free*, withdraw himself from their protection and his responsibility, leaving them in the bosom of a community where they cannot enjoy, and are equally incapable of exercising the rights of freemen. There, often surrounded by incentives to vice, incapable of self-government, exposed to indolence and crime, they become the most profligate wretches. Is not this in any *State*, whether *slave or free*, the case with free negroes?

The natural state of savages may be always said to be one of war. This has from the most ancient periods of its history, been the true condition of Africa. According to their invariable custom, all captives taken in war are slaves, and when they cannot use or sell, they slay them. This is still, as it has been there from unknown ages, their custom. It is said and published, on the very best authority, that a chief, but very lately in the presence of commissioners sent on business in the interior of Africa, slew with his own hand a number of prisoners, for whom he had no need, as slaves, and for whom he could find no sale. So when a chief dies, many slaves, according to his dignity, are killed as his attendants in another world. This custom of putting them to death has been terminated only by the prospect of a disposition of them, to the slave dealers on the coast, so that the slave trade, with all its horrors, would seem to be preferable to a captivity by African chiefs, which must be both *slavery and a violent death*. In view then of these facts, let us look at the bondage of the African race in America, and especially in Maryland, Virginia, and the south, and ask with an enlightened author, “Were they a free and civilized people, dwelling under the government of wise and wholesome laws, were they torn from a state of independence

and happiness by violence, and condemned to unaccustomed toil and degradation in a strange land?" What have we just seen? Does not every relation of facts deny this? Were not the ancestors of these very negroes as at this day on the coast of western Africa, except *the few lately converted to christianity*, sunk in a superstition, barbarous and cruel, and accustomed to every vice? Is there on earth a race of people so deeply immersed in crime, and abjectly plunged in the lowest degradation and imbecility? There, slavery has existed as a part of their institutions so long, that no man in all the earth can tell at what period it did not, since the flood, exist; and that too a slavery the most oppressive. A master even among the most enlightened tribes, does always put a *domestic slave* to death after a palaver, and all others *at his pleasure*, as above shown. May we not then ask, what was the injury inflicted on the slaves of Africa, in carrying them abroad for purposes of labor, there to shun a worse bondage at home? Aye, to shun a cruel death at the hands of a savage, who, the subject of caprice and passion uncontrolled, subjects to a barbarous servitude in life, and tortures at pleasure, to death. We believe that the African slave trade has been *the disgrace* of the civilized world. We believe that the *Dutch* and *English* African *slave traders*, as well as the *Spanish* and *Portuguese*, were vile covetous wretches, deeply dyed in crime. And yet we also believe God, who can bring a clean out of an unclean thing, has so ordered it, that the African race in America, both North and South, do thereby enjoy more privileges, have more privileges, possess more knowledge, and are far more exalted in their condition, than their ancestors ever conceived of. Yes! these their posterity, have been saved from a state of existence wherein human nature was sunk to a degree so low, that it was hardly superior to the *óuran outang*, or man of the woods. A condition where cruelty, superstitions, and all manner of abominable uncleanness, composed the elements of what little education they possessed. We have no doubt but that the condition of the veriest slave in this country, is far superior both in comforts and attainments, to any African chief now living in western Africa. In the order of Divine

Providence, therefore, it would seem, both from Scripture and reason, that a state of servitude may become a very natural and proper, or necessary condition, to those who are already enslaved.

But from all this it will not follow that we are not to discharge our relative duties to slaves, nor seek by the enlightenment of the gospel, and the pious examples of our lives, to teach them the way to eternal life; nor does it follow, therefore, that nothing is to be done for their deliverance from this state of degradation. They may neither feel its value, make that demand, or anticipate its benefit, and yet all this does not destroy our obligations to them. To neglect such a wholesome provision in every slave holding state, would be to defeat the ends of Providence, in their translation to this portion of our earth. But it must be recollected that the slave holding states, not being culpable for the introduction of slavery into their portion of the continent, as *some are wont to think* they are, and as others whom they could not control, have forced slavery on them, they must themselves select the means and the time, when they may be relieved of them, and especially so, as they were *forced to buy for every hundred acres of land, at least four slaves*, and thus forego, in their ancestry, the right and privilege of making acquisitions in other than slave property. Some of the fathers of Virginia saw and felt this obligation, and laid the foundation for discharging it. An effort was made which terminated in the formation of a Colonization Society, by which civilization and religion are now carried back, a generous return, to Africa; and the day is not distant, when commerce and trade shall be carried on between America and the land of Ham, when that vast continental wilderness, so long a "solitary place," shall "blossom as a rose," and the great desert of Sahara itself "shall rejoice and become glad."

PART III.

THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY IN SLAVES EXAMINED, IN CONNECTION WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON THE REMARKS ON THIS SUBJECT, BY DOCTOR CHANNING AND OTHERS. A RIGHT TO ALL OTHER AS WELL AS SLAVE PROPERTY, IS ACQUIRED ORIGINALLY EITHER BY CONQUEST OR PURCHASE. THAT THE RIGHT TO SLAVE PROPERTY IN VIRGINIA AND THE SOUTH, IS THE RESULT OF PURCHASE, FOR A VALUABLE CONSIDERATION IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, AND THEN BY A REGULAR DESCENT OR INHERITANCE FROM PROGENITORS. THAT AS THIS PURCHASE WAS FORCED ON THEM, THEIR POSTERITY OUGHT NOT THEREFORE, IN JUSTICE, TO BE CONSTRAINED TO YIELD THE SAME, PROCURED AS IT WAS FOR AN EQUIVALENT, AND PERMIT IT TO REMAIN TO THEIR INJURY AMONG THEM, OR SACRIFICE IT IN ANY WAY TO THE DEMANDS OF THOSE WHO HAVE NO RIGHT TO DICTATE TO THEM ON THIS SUBJECT.

In the writings of doctor Channing we find a lengthy chapter on property in man, and in his elaborate remarks on this, as on other *abolition texts*, even a superficial reader may easily discover, that he is, as once before suggested, a man of *theory*, dealing in abstracts and not a practical man. That he views the world not in connexion with its relations, as they exist, but as he supposes it ought to be, or would be in a state of Adamic perfection. Gravely approaching this subject he declares that this claim "of property in a human being is altogether false and groundless. No such right of man, in man can exist," says the doctor. "A human being cannot be justly owned; to hold and treat him as property is to inflict a great wrong, to incur the guilt of oppression," &c. Certainly the great doctor Channing does not intend to

contradict and violate by his abstract and abstruse reasonings, the positive regulations and commands of the Omnipotent God. What does the Almighty say? hear it! "Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land, and they shall be your POSSESSION; and ye shall take them for an inheritance of your children after you, to inherit them for a POSSESSION. THEY SHALL BE YOUR BOND MEN FOREVER." Lev. xxv, 45, 46. Yea more, it will be found, and this is a matter to which we have barely alluded, without a quotation before, that a possession might be had or held by an Israelite in his brother or fellow-citizen, and that, in such a way, as that he might take his life, so that he lived but a day, without impunity, because of his right of property in him, and that from the power of self-interest, it was to be presumed that he would not injure him to subvert his own income. But let us hear the law of God: "If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve, and in the seventh he shall go free for nothing. If his master have given a wife and she have borne him sons or daughters, the wife and her children, shall be her *master's*" (property or possession) "and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant" (slave) "shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife and my children, I will not go out free. Then his master shall bring him unto the judges, he shall also bring him unto the door, or unto the door-post and his master shall bore his ear through, with an awl, and he shall *serve him FOREVER*." Is there no possession no property in all this? Aye more still! This servant, a Hebrew, belonging to his Hebrew master, *belonging*, we say as his *property* too "forever," was in his master's hands to do with him as he pleased, even to injure him, so that he lived one day after that injury. Read it! "And if a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand he shall surely be punished, notwithstanding if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished; for he," (the slave,) "is his master's money," (i. e.) his property.

A beautiful slave taken as a captive and made a wife,

in whom the master did not afterwards delight, could not be sold at all, as the master had humbled her. A Hebrew slave, male or female, could not be sold out of his country, but in every other respect, by the command of God, his people, had a right of property in slaves, as an inheritance, and were to be transferred like other property, to their children, see Exodus xxi, 2, 4, 5, 6 verses, also 20, 21 verses of same chap. and ch. 21 of Deut. entire. The examples of practice under this law, in the Old Testament, are so numerous, that it would be an insult to the intelligence of our readers, to attempt a quotation of them. We have already named various cases illustrative of these laws, and will simply allude to that of Job, "a perfect and upright man," "one that feared God and eschewed evil," who had "a very great household," besides a wife, seven sons and three daughters, "servants" (slaves) whom the "Chaldeans came and slew with the edge of a sword." And after his loss and affliction God gave him double the number. The case of Philemon and Onesimus already alluded to by us, is a most conspicuous illustration of the scriptural warrant, of right of property in slaves. What did the apostle? Did he tell Onesimus, Philemon is "a kidnapper," "a man stealer," a "pirate," yea, "worse than a pirate or murderer," as modern abolitionists speak of slave holders? No! no! Did the young Timothy who united with the apostle in this letter to Philemon, and who often acted as the amanuensis or scribe, to that great man, denounce the unjust slave holder, Philemon? O no! no! What then? these good men had heard of the "love and faith" of the excellent Philemon, "toward the Lord Jesus" their Master, "and toward all saints," though he was a slave holder, and therefore naturally presumed that he (Philemon) would receive back, and treat with kindness, his "servant" (slave) "Onesimus," who, had runaway from him, and remained concealed in the large City of Rome, until his conversion. He does not write to Philemon, Onesimus is now converted, you must free him; to the contrary, "I would have retained him with me that he might have ministered" (served) "me", but without thy mind" (consent, will) "I would do nothing." "I beseech

thee for him" Onesimus, "whom I have sent again" home to his master. He was, "in times past unto thee an unprofitable servant," (slave) but now will be "profitable to thee" as he has been "to me." "Receive him as myself." Do not deal hardly with him, do not correct him. I myself, Paul, the aged, a prisoner for Christ, am so deeply convinced that christianity does not interfere with your right of property, in your slave Onesimus, that I send him home, and will be his security, and as he has doubtless injured you by absconding from his lawful owner and master, put the damages to my account. I have written this with my own hand, this is my note or obligation, "I will repay it." And what an exalted illustration have we here, of the power of christianity in leading men, when truly converted to God, to do their duty. Onesimus changed from the error of his ways, instead of remaining a runaway slave, at Rome, freed from his master and all obligations to him, according to doctor Channing's theory about "property in man," is ready to go home at once. He loves Paul and Timothy, and Rome, and those instrumental in his conversion, but duty calls him home to his master. He goes, although it gives him pain to leave his spiritual father, the poor little, old, bald-headed christian minister, in prison, to whom he might be useful by remaining and ministering as a servant, whom Paul was ready to exalt as a son. Yet he takes a letter from this old minister and goes off, himself the bearer, "written from Rome to Philemon by Onesimus, a servant" (slave). Why does he go? Do let the intelligent and pious reader answer? Why does he go home to become a slave voluntarily, "when there is no power in heaven or earth that can morally constrain an act which is such a flagrant violation," as abolitionists say, "of all his rights?"—Aye, as doctor Channing says, "a cruel usurpation" "hardly to be reached by any reasoning!" Let us answer, sirs. He goes home to discharge his duty to him, who, in the order of Providence, was his lawful master, in obedience to the precepts of his God, "servants be obedient to them which are your masters," as taught by this same Paul, the aged. And whose declaration, illustrative of our duty, is, "Art thou called" (con-

verted; made a christian,) "being a servant," (slave,) "care not for it." "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called."

Now we do most conscientiously believe, that if ever there was an example, which displayed the true power and purity of christianity, both as to intention and practice, it is that one now before us, in which Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus are the actors. Look at it christian or infidel reader. Look at it again! Philemon is the master, and has the right of property according to the laws of God and man, in his slave Onesimus. This slave runs away, and knowing that there would be less probability of apprehension in a large city, the metropolis of a vast empire, where were gathered strangers from all the world, he flies thither. 1. There the prisoner Paul, a christian minister, is preaching and teaching the Lord Jesus and his religion, the runaway slave Onesimus hears him, and turns to the living God. What is now to be done? How does he prove the sincerity and truth of his faith and religion? He kindly administers to St. Paul in his *afflictions* and imprisonment. 2. He makes a frank confession of his true character. He tells them he is a runaway. He tells St. Paul that Philemon is his owner, and *doubtless asks* him what he shall do; promising willingly to obey and do what is his duty. What a display of the power of divine grace is this? 3. St. Paul does not consult his own interest and comfort, which might be promoted by the continuance of Onesimus at Rome. He knows that God's *moral law* is not abrogated by Christ; that according to that law, one man might hold a right of property in another, and that Philemon owned Onesimus, and was the loser of his time and labor. What does he do? He sends him home at once; becomes surety, as a good man, for him, and as a christian minister, enforces forbearance and forgiveness on the master, toward his formerly profligate slave. 4. But look again at the powerful, the wonderous influence of religion! Onesimus, the slave, takes Paul's letter, *virtually*, (according to the Roman law,) also a law of the Southern States, so much laughed at and denounced by abolitionists, *a pass* to go unmolested to his master. He does it voluntarily;

he might have run off again. He did not; and here is another evidence, a striking one too, which we have, in the existence of that epistle to Philemon, at this day, one of the most glorious monuments that christianity intermeddles with the rights and privileges of no man, that it enforces the relative duties of life, alike on all, and that it induces every man to do his duty, however irksome and oppressive, bearing in mind that "godliness with contentment is great gain," "having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

In all this we see that the Bible and its ministers may be safely admitted into any land, subject to any government, it being only designed to make all men do their duty. Believing, as we do, that there are but few greater displays of the purity, justice, power and support of the christian religion, than this very case of Onesimus and his master, we recommend it to the consideration of those who are circulating inflammatory tracts, *stealing away slaves* from their masters and homes, *hiding runaway slaves* instead of sending them home, as did St. Paul, to their masters, and doing all in their power to subvert a part of the institutions of our country: institutions fixed on us against our wills in the commencement, and institutions acknowledged and sanctioned, as we see, by our fathers, patriots, and philanthropists, brave, humane and honest as ever lived, in that *constitution*, and those laws forming and binding in *solemn compact and union*, THESE STATES. We refer, too, *our christian ministers* to the example of St. Paul, and shall believe that they are sincere, and their christianity has a divine power among them, as in Old Rome, when it induces *them*, instead of *concealing* the runaway slave, to *send him home* to his master, become his *surety*, that he perform his duty, and when that slave shall follow the pious example of the *slave* Onesimus, return to his master, and let him hand down to posterity, as the honor of christianity, such a letter, the *pass* of the slave to return *unmolested* to his home and the performance of his duty.

We know that the men whose conduct is so dissimilar to that of St. Paul, will raise a dust about a "man's owning or having property in man," and denounce us as a

part of the "black-hearted tribe," who are worse than "pirates and murderers." About this we are not anxious. Our craft is not in danger. *We never have been, are not now, and never expect to be a slave holder.* Alas! alas! we are sorry to find Dr. Channing himself in such bad company as that of abolitionists. Gentle reader, hear for yourself, at his own lips, his own opinions. "No legislation, not that of *all* countries or worlds, could make him" (the slave) "property." Let this be laid down as a first fundamental truth. Let us hold it fast as a most sacred, precious truth. Let us (*abolitionists*) hold it fast against *all* customs, *all* laws, *all* rank, wealth and power. Let it be armed with the whole authority of the civilized christian world." Also again, "The man, who on hearing the claim to property in man, does not see and feel distinctly that it is *a cruel usurpation*, is hardly to be reached by reasoning." Is not this plainly Dr. Channing and his abolition friends, against St. Paul. He swells about "property in man." St. Paul comes out and tells Philemon plainly that he sends his servant home to do his duty, that he might "receive" (possess, own) "him FOREVER." We believe that the scriptural argument is so clear, and that it points out to every christian, so plainly, his duty, admitting of now, under the gospel dispensation, as it has ever done property in man, that one would suppose, all that Dr. Channing has written on this subject was actually penned by him, barely to *expose* the ingenuity and power of *his own vast intellect*. And yet there is a plain, common sense view of this and every other subject, which, when taken by the man, who simply looks at things, as they actually exist, in connection with God's revealed will concerning them, that he will arrive at conclusions so reasonable and just, and in such correspondence with the word or revelation of his heavenly Father, that one will be surprised to see how the wisdom of the wise is brought to naught, and the philosopher himself is struck dumb. "Truth is almighty, and must prevail." Men may speculate, and continue to do so, until they hesitate not one moment to contradict the positive assertions and commandments of "Him who seeth not as man seeth."

May we detain the reader awhile longer on this subject of "property in man," or rather the right to own and hold slaves as property under certain circumstances. Our right to any property, real or personal, may be traced, so far at least as we are collectively concerned, either to conquest or purchase. It has been supposed that nine-tenths at least of all the property in the world, as far as the ground of right is concerned, must run back to conquest. Among nations that are civilized, and governed by laws, it is generally admitted, that however property may have been acquired, after a certain period the title to that property cannot be invalidated. And again, a right may be granted by certain legal provisions, having an existence in all countries, where laws at all exist, for the security of titles to property, either personal or real. Conquest has almost always changed the title to property in any country. Europe was once subject to savages or barbarians, whose right to territory, &c., passed into the hands of their conquerors, but little more civilized than themselves. Several times has the greater portion of the property of Great Britain passed into the hands of their conquerors, and even now, the tenure by which it is held, is wholly the result of rapine. Those who now own it, recur only to William the Norman, from whom they derived a right to present possession. This is indeed the case with our own country. In very many instances it is true, that we hold our possessions as the result of purchase from the Indian aborigines of the country, but mostly by conquest, and that sometimes under circumstances greatly to be lamented and abhorred. But yet no man, no nation questions our right to all the territory of the United States, however the title may have been acquired. The peaceable possession for so many years, has virtually extinguished the claims of all others, and constitutes us, the independent owners of the soil, and all the advantages, therewith connected. And notwithstanding the original title may not have been actually valid or righteous, and although one nation may fix one period, and another nation another, still there must, at least among civilized nations, be some limitation to the claims of former owners; without this, there would be no actual value to any property.

To this law regularly passed, or custom, for custom is law, must be traced the right to any property, and not to any of the numerous abstract principles of religion, which many and especially modern *abolitionists* would lay down. This is still more apparent if we consider, that laws which are human and liable often to great inconvenience to some, are also in many instances the occasion of some injustice, and doubtless will be so, whilst man and his intellect are both alike imperfect. But "by placing the sanction of right on the ground of possession, the law does not intend to justify any person in retaining a property acquired by fraud, and which the inheritor knows was thus acquired. The moral obligation remains the same, until after the expiration of the prescribed period, when the fraudulent possession must be left to his own conscience, and the justice of heaven. But, however property may have been originally acquired, if I or my father, grand father, or ancestry, came by that property for what was esteemed a valuable consideration, then and in that case, the title to me is not only legally, but equitably good—in other words *morally good—good in conscience*. Suppose for instance, that A forced an Indian from his hunting ground, fenced, cultivated and improved it to a farm. He afterward disposed of it to B, who sold it to C, and so it passed on to D, and E, and F. At last one says that F's title is not legal, but upon examination it is found to have an existence for so many years, that all other claims are barred by the statute of limitation. But then a question may arise as to the morality in the title, when behold, on an examination it is also found that the ancestors of F paid for it a valuable consideration, and beside, had it forced on them. Would it not be immoral to deprive them of their right, their property—*inherited in a regular way?* Look at this very case as applied to slavery. 1. All the earth by their laws, have acknowledged "the right of property in man," and we have seen that slavery has been one of the institutions of every country, without date. 2. The Africans have been *always*, at least *four-fifths of them*, in a state of bondage. This we have already seen, and shall prove it more plainly hereafter. Some of these African slaves, slaves by birth,

slaves bought with money, or slaves being captives in war, savage men, knowing nothing of an exchange of prisoners, much less an emancipation from the slavery consequent on capture. 3. Of these slaves, many were sold to *slavers*, and the title to them it is allowed, was not morally valid; but they bring them into the American ports. What next? Every man who was an owner of land was also forced to buy at least four slaves for every hundred acres of land owned by him. The colonists protest against it. It is still forced on them, and as we shall show, although resisted constantly until 1776, the very year of the declaration of independence, when that protest is put into that celebrated instrument—it is still persisted in until they have quartered on them, and on their lands, not conquered lands, but lands bought of the British government or their representatives, the proprietaries or manor lords, thousands, hundreds of thousands of African slaves, professedly to keep them in awe, to augment the revenue of the English crown, a partner in the African and South Sea Companies or monopolies, unjustly gotten up to sustain the mother country, at the expense of the colonists.

So soon as these colonists could legislate for themselves, they did so, and set their faces against that trade. They resisted the tyranny of England, they fought, they bled, they conquered by their bravery—they bought their liberty and redeemed their country from tyrant England, at the expense and hazard of life, and all that to them was dear. The deed is done, and now, whilst trying to train the colored race for civilized life, a race originally savage, in bondage the most abject, in pollutions of every kind overwhelmed, forced upon them, at their own proper expense, a race whom already they have improved a thousand fold, and whom they, according to the advice of their fathers, Washington, Jefferson, Madison and others, are gradually sending out full by colonization, to Africa, the *fatherland*, to civilize and save it: Hear, let the heavens blush at such a requisition, hear it! We say hear it! They are required to turn them loose, *now, all at once*, hardly half civilized, on the bosom of society. To give them the country which they and their fathers

fought for, and rescued from British tyranny, and raise these slaves to all the rights and *privileges of free born citizens, political as well as other.* This is the demand of abolitionists, this is virtually the demand of the great doctor Channing, the DEFENDER of ABOLITIONISM. In other words, give your servants your houses and homes for a dwelling, your sons and daughters as husbands and wives, your privileges, liberties and your country, at the call of northern and eastern and western fanatics. This is the demand, this the *bitter pill*, however it may be *sweetened.*

All who study the morality of the Scriptures will at once see, that in the commission of any act which we denominate a crime or sin, there must ever be present numerous essential circumstances, to constitute it such. If these be present, there can be none others by which its true nature or character can be changed ; but without these, sin cannot be admitted in any one case. And according to the Scriptures, although there may be a violation of the letter of a commandment, even when there is an express statute, if there be no violation of its spirit, the commandment is not broken, and *vice versa*, where the spirit of a commandment is violated, there is transgression. This virtually includes all the essential circumstances which constitute it a sin, and necessarily too includes also, the letter of the commandment, even when the act is not consummated. On this account our Lord said—"He that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed *adultery* already with her, in his *heart.*" "He that is angry with his brother without a cause is a *murderer.*" In other words it is the violation of the spirit of a statute, which is a sin.

Now if we look at the subject of *property in man* as set forth in the Bible, according to this rule laid down by our Lord, it will appear, we think, that it is perfectly compatible with every principle of right, even although there never had been a command, or a scripture example for it. We have seen that slavery in some form has always existed, and that this "*property in man*" has been acknowledged from the patriarchal days and before, to this very time. Moreover God has not only in his wisdom allowed it,

but has legislated on the subject, so as to perpetuate slavery, even among his peculiar and favored people, the *Jews* and *Israelites*, only authorizing an emancipation at all, in the case of an *Israelite*, *conditionally* a servant, but not allowing his wife or children to be free unless bought or procured by him, independently of the master. We have also seen that the precepts, exhortations, and dehortations of both the Old and New Testaments are alike addressed to masters and slaves, and that this relation is fully acknowledged in God's word, and in no one part of it disturbed. Thus, all the rights of every master or owner of slaves in his property, is protected in God's law, so that whilst the right of property in the slave is acknowledged on the one hand, the means of protecting him in his right, by enforcing obedience the most universal and faithful on the slave, are one the other hand, clearly pointed out. Not only so, God represents it as a violation of the right of property, in any man, to "covet his neighbor's man servant or maid servant," as much so as to covet his ox or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbor's "property." If this be not the true meaning as well as the spirit of this Bible acknowledgment, of the right of property in slaves, then we do not know what it means, and we defy any man otherwise to explain it. We again say, that whilst any and every man, influenced by a proper moral sense, would repel as iniquitous all the deception, violence and distress of the slave trade, and especially so, as it was carried on by Great Britain, yet, when slaves are forced on us, paid for by us, trained and civilized, fed, protected and taught—distinct in every respect, both as a race and as to education, from us—ours by purchase, under the laws of free, independent, and sovereign states, whose *wise* policy is that their masters may free and send them to their father or any other land, to which they desire to go, but not here. Pray tell us where is the iniquity of slave holding, under such circumstances? We say *slave holding* not *slavery in the abstract*. Southern men hold slaves, they have descended to them as a part of their *paternal property*. They must leave their homes or retain their slaves. They are where they cannot be freed. By the laws of *God and man*, in all

conscience, they hold in them "*the right of property*," and shall they be denounced as transgressors of God's law, as "thieves," "robbers," "pirates," "murderers"—"yea, worse than pirates and murderers?" "Under these circumstances there is an infringement of no right," as has been justly observed by Dr. Reese of New York, "there are circumstances in which God himself has recognized property in man, and *ceteris paribus*, he does so now." And if there be an individual slave holder in America or elsewhere, who is by that act guilty of sin, the act itself can only be adjudicated after a knowledge of the circumstances, for upon these the morality or immorality of the act must depend. That there have been or may be masters who furnish conspicuous examples, in which the act of slave holding is accompanied by circumstances which constitute that act, "*malum per se*," a sin against God and nature, none can deny. Southern men do not deny this—they admit it frankly, openly and above board. But what is gained to those who deny the right of property in slaves, by this admission? They may try to apply the cruelty of one man, a dozen, or a hundred to all; who will believe them? They may *falsely* represent these as specimens of the general and universal character of slave holders, and they had as well say, because one man, or a dozen or a hundred men *treat* their *horses* ill, therefore all starve or work them to death. Because there are a hundred drunkards and cheats in a city, therefore all are such, or because some professors of religion are hypocrites, therefore all are. And because there are a thousand incontinent and lewd men and women, therefore all men and women are such, or because some from the north have come southward and cheated the people, therefore all northerners will, if they can get a chance, do it. What think you generous reader of such logic? Now we declare in the sight of heaven and earth, that the cases of *cruel* and *bad* masters, on account of public opinion, are comparatively rare, because it is directly against it, and public law, which protects the slave. We know that christian ministers and men, in the South do denounce cruel, bad masters, in unmeasured terms, as violating God's law, in cruelly treating their

slaves. And let me ask, do those at the North thus denounce the obscene and insolent lewdness in the treatment of *poor factory girls*, by some of the owners, agents, and clerks of those lordly establishments, or that of the poor children, who are almost buried alive, for fourteen hours out of every twenty-four, in the factories for manufacturing cottons, &c., to speculate on in southern markets, among those very slave holders whom they denounce.

We confess we are not surprised to hear men, who have never built their systems on the Bible, but on a concatenation of abstract moral precepts and principles, without reference at all to circumstances, exclaiming, in *abolition language*, "the act of holding a slave is sin," or as it is often expressed by them, to claim property in man, under any circumstances, is sin. We are not surprised to hear them denounce slave holders as "robbers," "pirates," "man-stealers," nor to hear them speak of Southern christianity as a "whip-plaiting," "chain-forging, man-stealing christianity," and the "most heinous of all sins against God." We are not surprised to find an elaborate treatise by such an abolition metaphysician as the *great* Dr. Channing, on the right of property, in man, that gives us a plan for "*forming a just moral judgment*" without any reference comparatively to providential circumstances, to scriptural law, and scriptural example.

The intelligent reader will not wonder at such extravagancies, when he considers that many men are impelled by creeds founded on their own collections of abstract principles of moral right, and of ownership in property. This is but one of the many fruits of error. Of that radical error which lies at the very foundation of a creed, that hardly ever professes to be built on the Bible, and that has its origin in the dogmas of its leaders. Hence such fly to the declaration of our national independence, and by a flagrant perversion of the true intent and meaning of the spirit of that instrument, as well as the language itself, endeavor to persuade and delude men from the Bible and its instructions. This is an "*ad captandum*" argument, whose authors feign not to remember that the signers of that declaration were "**SLAVE HOLDERS**," and

the representatives of “*slave holding states*,” who complained that the mother country, “a slave holding” nation, had among other grievances, taken away the slave property from our citizens. And could they in that declaration have denied “the right of property in man,” in the face of their own true condition, and that of their constituency? Is there one who can allow such a perversion of sentiment, especially if it be recollected that the Constitution of these United States makes the most distinct recognition of “*slave holding*” as one of the reserved rights of the states, *a right to “property in man.”*

This is not all: that very act of the British government, which after forty years’ consideration and preparation for it, by those *called* the first philanthropists of that nation, not only admits all that Americans can ask, as to the propriety of a gradual, and almost imperceptible emancipation and removal of the blacks, according to Mr. Jefferson’s plan; but behold! it acknowledges, with Wilberforce, Clarkson and others, as its authors, the right of “*property in man*,” and that too, to its utmost extent, as claimed by the *slave owners* themselves. It therefore makes a provision for the payment of so many millions to them, at the rate of so *much per head*, as *compensation* and *pay* for the “**SLAVE PROPERTY**” to *their masters*.

PART IV.

THE DUTIES OF THOSE WHO POSSESS SLAVES, TO THEMSELVES AND THEIR SERVANTS, IN VIEW OF THE PROVIDENTIAL RELATION THAT EXISTS BETWEEN THEM. THAT THESE DUTIES HAVE BEEN, AND NOW ARE BEING PERFORMED IN VARIOUS WAYS, NOTWITHSTANDING THE MISREPRESENTATIONS OF ABOLITIONISTS RESPECTING THE CONDITION OF SLAVES. THIS FACT PROVED BY THE PRESENT MENTAL, MORAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE SLAVES, IN THE SLAVE HOLDING STATES.

IN the providence of Almighty God, against the will and solemn protestations of Virginia and the South, slavery has been entailed on them and their posterity. It virtually become interwoven with almost all their operations, and in fact is now one of our political institutions. An evil, for the curing of which we must do the best that we can. We cannot charge our fathers with folly respecting this matter. They *resisted*, they *strove*, they *fought* against it, as long as resistance was of any avail. When they had it in their power to resist successfully, by prohibiting the slave trade, and refusing to participate in it, it was too late, the deed was done, the foundation laid, the colored man was here, and his posterity was springing up apace in the land of his master. But in the order of Providence, the master has the rule over him, and on this master it devolves to discharge his duties, so as to effect the happiness of the negro, the comfort and peace of his own soul, the honor of his country, and the glory of his God. But how may he do this? How ought it to be done?

Masters and mistresses owe it to their own souls to do their duty faithfully. Self-interest and self-preservation

are powerful motives to human action. Man is a creature of motive—he cannot, he does not, and his God never commands him to act without motive. The first great motive to us to perform our duty, ought to be the solemn obligation that rests upon us, as the creatures of God, to obey his commandments. Our Sovereign, our God commands, it is our duty to obey. 1. God is our lawful, our rightful and righteous Sovereign. 2. He is our kind, our benevolent Father. 3. He is our firm and unchanging friend, and especially has he endeared himself to us, in a national as well as in an individual point of view. He has also proclaimed himself our kindest and best benefactor; it is he who provides for, saves, supports and preserves us, *physically, morally, and politically*, from all harm and all foes. Well! what does he command? For all our inferential duties must be traced back to some positive command of God. Let us first remember that we are fallen and depraved, naturally obstinate and rebellious *ourselves*, and that therefore we ought to make every allowance for ignorant and unregenerate *slaves*, who have had *but little given* to them, when compared to what we ourselves have received. In order that we may do this, let us not shun to seek and know our duty to God our sovereign, ourselves, and our fellow men. Let us, in order that we may discharge it aright, first give to God our own hearts, our whole, our undivided hearts, that we may love him supremely, and that his love may rule all our actions, and guide and direct us in all our intercourse. When this is the case, it will ever be easy to attend to the following commands, which are recorded in the sacred scriptures, for the regulation and government of our conduct: "Ye masters, do the same things unto your servants, forbearing threatenings, knowing that your master is also in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him." "Accuse not a servant to his master." "Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor." "Thou shalt not oppress him." "Thou shalt be 'tender-hearted,' pitiful, and very kind." Job, that kind master and perfect and upright man, that feared God and eschewed evil, says, if I had "despised the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when

they contended with me, what could I have done?" "When God riseth up, and, when he visiteth, what shall I answer him?" And you remember the kindness and earnest or ardent anxiety of the Roman centurion, beseeching Jesus for his slave, and saying, "Lord, my servant lieth home sick of the palsy, grievously tormented." Jesus saith to him, "I will come and heal him." The centurion said, "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof: but speak the word only, and my servant" (slave) "shall be healed; for I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me, and I say to this man go, and he goeth, and to another come, and he cometh, and to my servant" (slave) "do this, and he doeth it." When Jesus heard it he marvelled, and said to them that followed, "Verily, I say to you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." And Jesus said to the centurion, "Go thy way, and as thou hast believed, so be it done to thee." And his servant was healed in the self same hour.

What, is it possible that our Lord Jesus will hear the prayer of a slave holder? Aye, more that he will go to his house, heal and restore to him his slave? And when he said, "I say to my servant," (slave,) "do this and he doeth it," never reprove him, as our abolition brethren do, as a "man stealer," "a robber," "a kidnapper," "a rogue" "a pirate." Aye, "worse than a pirate or a murderer!" and what an example to christian, believing, "slave holders" to care and pray for their servants, and use also every means to have them restored to health! Some abolitionists would say that this was all for his own interest. Well be it so! Christ approved of it, marvelled at, eulogized his faith, healed his servant, and restored him to his master, *for his master's interest*. What objection can there be to all this? Our religious concern should not be confined to ourselves. A good man's servants may not only be sick, but may be sinners. We are to go to our Lord Jesus, and use prayer and all the means in our power for their recovery. We are not to go alone, but as Jacob did call on our "*household*," (slaves,) and all that are with us. Each must prepare and each must attend. Of that Father of the faithful, Abra-

ham, it is said, "I know him that he will command his children and his household" (slaves) "after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him." In the same disposition, was Joshua, who said, "As for me and my house we will serve the Lord." Look also at the centurion, "he feared God with all his house."

In our own families we possess both influence and authority, a father has honor, a master has fear. Servants like children are almost naturally disposed from their condition to obey. All our authority and influence ought to be employed for religious as well as civil and domestic purposes, and we ought to vary the exercise of them according to the condition, and intellectual attainments of those, who, as servants, form a component part of our families. Using our authority by commanding some, persuasion with others, and gospel means with all. Many masters try only to take care of the bodies of their families. To answer the question, what shall my servants eat, wherewithal shall they be clothed? But as heads of families it is our duty to mind the souls of our servants, and try to train them for eternal life, they are not designed to live only in this world, or principally here, they are to live, as well as ourselves, in eternity: we shall soon be called to "give an account of our stewardship," we shall be judged not only as individuals, but as the owners of a "*household*," (slaves,) and after the servant has been tried the master will be called. Ought we not daily and devoutly to pray that we may be enabled to "give our account with joy and not with grief?" It is said the voice of salvation and rejoicing is in the tabernacle of the righteous." Here is domestic religion. Shall it be so with us? It ought to be so? Such families are only safe and happy. How delightful to see all the members of a family, servants, masters, mistresses, children, worshipping God together in their own houses. How lovely to observe them coming forth on the Sabbath morning to the house of prayer, as a company to wait together on the same Lord. Ministers are encouraged; such households are the nurseries of the churches. Such

churches inspire into the soul of a minister, unspeakable pleasure, he views them as hopeful assemblies, formed by the union of a number of amiable and devout masters, and mistresses, and their serious and orderly children, and servants. Let us take along with us therefore to the same place of worship, our servants, as far as practicable, and, when this cannot be done, see that they go and are instructed elsewhere. Be certain of their attendance some where, and that they are not suffered to wander and violate the Sabbath.

From what we have said, and the injunctions of God's word, we learn that masters are not to assume to themselves absolute authority over their servants, as both they and their slaves are alike under one master. "And ye masters do the same things, forbearing threatening, knowing that your master is also in heaven, neither is there respect of person with him." And again "masters give unto your servants (slaves) what is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven." This is the apostolic injunction, and from it we learn, that we should never command a servant to do what is above his strength or beyond his ability. In commanding them, no threatenings are to be used, in rebuking them we are to be moderate, remembering that we have a God in heaven, who respects alike the master and his slave. We are to bestow such rewards for their labour as are meet and right under existing circumstances. We are to take good care of them in sickness and old age, and above all see that all our servants and their children, are trained up in piety and the service of the living God. Thus when in the providence of God, slaves are cast on us, these rules properly carried out, will greatly tend to ameliorate and better their mental and moral condition. In this way many masters and mistresses win over their slaves to the Lord Jesus, and train them on earth for eternal life beyond the grave. Masters and mistresses should be especially careful that they are not excited to treat their servants ill, because of the persecution and falsehoods of abolitionists. Let love and reason and kindness and righteousness, govern all your movements,

and your conduct towards your slaves, and then commit the rest to God who seeth and doeth right.

It is thus that a good man may inspire the heart of the laborer with confidence in him, and with peace, comfort and delight, under all the privations and ills incident to his condition. When he has borne the burden and heat of the summer's day, or has endured the frosts and snow and cold of one in winter, in discharging faithfully the duties of his station; when the descending sun has released him from his toil, and he is about to hasten home, to enjoy repose in his cabin, and the companion of his humble life is ready to furnish him with his plain but wholesome repast; have you not seen his toil-worn countenance assume an air of joy as he hears his master's evening bell call *all the servants* to the *drawing room* to family prayers? All is cheerfulness. His hardships and cares are forgot, and fatigue vanishes. He hears the word of our God read, and joins with his wife, his children, his fellow-servants, his master, mistress, and their children to swell the praise of his God in solemn song, and in that hymn of praise seeks to glorify his heavenly Father. With them he unites in fervent prayer, and blesses God, that care is all gone, and peace and joy reign. He eats and is satisfied. The evening *fair*, he walks with uncovered head around his little garden, gathers some of its luscious fruits, partakes thereof, then waters and feeds *his fowls* and *pigs*, enters again his cottage and retires to rest. "And the rest of a labouring man is sweet indeed." Inhabitant of that lowly dwelling, an upright, good and faithful servant, what master can be indifferent to thy comfort? Aye, thy master looks and says, "peace be to this house;" and Jesus says so too.

"Let not ambition mock thy useful toil,
Thy homely joys and destiny obscure ;
Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile,
The short and simple annals of the poor."

His master does not disdain it, far, far from this, and such a servant, as we have seen and known a hundred times, is his master's counsellor, often his master's chaplain, and

like Abraham's servant, his master's "steward." Hear how he hails the rising morn and sings :

"The morning breaks, the sun in east new gilds the rising day,
The lark forsakes her downy nest, arise my soul and pray."

As the sun bursts at once on the tower-like mansion of the master, and cabins or cottages of the servants, they all re-assemble in the same room, and read, and sing, and pray. This done, each by it, is quickened to diligence in his relative duties, and each, especially the good master, knows the meaning of that text, "thou shalt know also that thy tabernacle shall be in peace, and thou shalt visit thy habitation and not sin."

Thus let every master and mistress and their "households," walk with "order, good temper, good sense, and religious principles." "The man that lives not by rule lives not at all." Many things will happen to try the temper of, both the master and the slave. Remember, "be kind and tender-hearted," never depart from the course dictated by good sense, and let christian principle rule in all things. If all are influenced by religion, none will have cause to complain. Ever place in your servants the utmost confidence. Dedicate your tabernacle to God, offer the morning and evening sacrifice of prayer and praise to him. Whatever may be the determination of others, let each one say as did Joshua ; "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." He could not change their hearts, but he could so order and govern his family, as, that they should be forced, at least, to conform, in all respects, to the externals of religion whilst in their master's house, and when properly enlightened and convinced of their duty they will take pleasure in it. We have already said that with many such families, we are personally acquainted. We have long known them and we are willing at any time to point them out to those, who are so ready to denounce the whole south, as not only themselves, "thieves," "kidnappers," "pirates," "murderers," and "worse than pirates and murderers;" but also declare that the entire slave population amounting to almost three millions, are "compelled to live without God, and die with-

out hope." As we lament to say there are some bad wives, some bad husbands, some bad children, some bad servants, so there are some bad masters, but there are also hundreds of holy, upright masters, and happy, truly happy families, including numerous pious and devoted servants of both sexes.

We are truly sorry to be constrained therefore after a careful perusal of doctor Channing's works, and especially that on slavery, to say, that taking his exalted talents and standing into consideration, we have seldom ever read any thing from the pen of any abolitionist, so vituperative and slanderous on southern men, and at the same time so unfair and false; and, but for the same exalted standing which we take into consideration, one would think indeed a malicious account, so well calculated to set the north and the south forever at variance. The doctor is not content only to abuse his neighbours and northern fellow-citizens for friendship toward the south, those, who, having the feelings of brethren, are disposed to consider the difficult circumstances, under which such are placed and make allowances for them; but he actually attributes that kindness to considerations of interest; their opposition to abolitionism to a wish thereby to promote their own temporal welfare, and not the love of their country and an ardent desire to perpetuate the union, by a mutual forbearance. But reader, let the doctor speak for himself! "We have," says he, "those who would fight against *abolition* if by this measure the profit of their intercourse with the south should be materially impaired. The present excitement among us (northerners) is in part the working of *mercenary principles*. But because the north joins hands with the south, shall iniquity go unpunished or unrebuked, can the *league of the wicked*, the revolt of worlds, repeal the everlasting law of heaven and earth? Has God's throne fallen before *Mammon's*? must duty find no voice, no organ, because *corruption is universally diffused*?"

This is very pretty indeed, and we could give the reader fifty such *beautiful* quotations from doctor Channing; but after all it is certainly one among the most crude pieces of *abolition* slander we have ever read.

What, northern brethren, patriots, statesmen, divines, christians, whose disinterested benevolence for their southern brethren, bone of their own bone, flesh in many instances of their own flesh, who see and know that a tyrant mistress, acting under the name of mother, forced and quartered on them thousands of savages *against their wills* and solemn protests; therefore, "they are worshiping mammon not God," "are influenced by corruption not the love of country," "are acting on motives of self-interest, not on a principle of individual and national forbearance toward independent sovereign sister states, in compact on specific terms with them? Individual christians, whole churches, conferences, conventions, associations, synods, presbyteries, aye!—legislative bodies themselves, are all under the influence of the diabolical principle, *the love of money*, "the root of all evil," and have joined hands with the south in "iniquity," among whom "corruption is *universally* diffused," and "duty finds no voice, no organ." And this union of northern and southern states, and northern and southern feeling of kindness and forbearance, is indeed but "the league of the wicked, the revolt of the world." How sublime! Moreover in doing this they unite with the south in "shutting the ear against the voice of justice," in shutting "out all the harmonies of the universe, and in turning the voice of God within them into rebuke." Still more and more sublime! Is it not a wonder, that this *matchless* eloquence of the doctor does not almost strike dumb all who read it?

But the intelligent reader shall examine into the cause of all this vituperation and wrath against our kind-hearted, generous, charitable, and patriotic northern brethren. He will find it set forth in a solemn and unmanly charge, a *stale abolition* accusation that southerners have done, and now are doing nothing to better the moral and political condition of the negro, and that they do not intend to do it. That "they reduce," which supposes previous exaltation, "the colored man to a brute for selfish gratification." But let the reader again hear doctor Channing. "The southern slave holders, hold the slave not for his own good or the safety of the state, but with precisely the same views with which they hold a labouring horse, that

is, for the profit which they can wring from him. "They will not hear a word of his wrongs." "He (the master) extorts by the lash, that labor to which he has no claim through a bare selfishness," and thus "dies to the proper happiness of man." And more yet "the slave holder had better beg than thus steal, better live in an alms-house than thus trample on a fellow-creature and reduce him to a *brute* for a selfish gratification." We leave doctor Channing and his abolition party to settle with their *anti-abolition neighbours* and fellow-citizens, upon their "guilt or innocence as to their motives whether they be mercenary" or not. We do not believe his charges against them, we have too much charity for them, and we know that the action of some associated bodies on this subject, has not been, and could not be founded in any other motives than those of *piety, goodness and patriotism*. Our northern brethren cannot desire us to give up the fairest and most profitable portion of our happy country, for which *their fathers spilled their blood like water* on the earth, to rescue from British tyranny, to thousands of slaves, so distinctly marked, and raise them to all the rights and immunities, political as well as other, enjoyed by themselves, as free citizens. No! no! no! It cannot, cannot be.

But to produce at the north this state of hostile feeling against us, and a feeling of mock humanity toward the slave, we are charged by Dr. Channing and his abolition associates, distinctly, with "reducing the colored man to the condition of a *brute*." With trampling on "our fellow-creatures, for selfish gratification," and with "pillowing our heads at night on down, at the cost of a *wanton*ly injured fellow-creature." Aye more! By another abolition chief, the Hon. William Jay, we are charged with having "compelled 2,245,144 slaves 'to live without God, and die without hope,' among a people professing to reverence the obligations of christianity." That is, Virginian and southern slave holders, compel all these slaves "to live without God, and die without hope." Candid reader, whether you live north or south of the Potomac, can you believe that out of all this number of slaves there are no christians? All—all "without

God?" All—all "die without hope?" All—all "compelled" thus to live, and thus to die? Can it be believed by any reasonable man that such slanders as the foregoing would be circulated, by such men, as Dr. Channing and the Hon. Mr. Jay; and is it possible that such wise men would wish Virginia and the South to turn loose on society, at least, three millions of such *heathens*, ready for *any* bad deed, as they say, under no *moral* restraints or influences, "living without God, and dying without hope?" It is true, they say, "compelled" to do so; but this does not alter the case. These false statements and charges may have their influence on ignorant men, on weak, silly women, and on children; and we will tell our abolition friends of some of their influences before we are done; but we believe that there is no man, who has ever gone through Virginia and our southern country, who has mingled in society, who has become acquainted with the slaves, who knows their true state, who has worshipped with them at the family altar, who has bowed with them in the house of God, who has preached to them and their masters, or heard preaching to them, and witnessed their freedom in divine worship, and ease even in their masters' presence, and their masters' houses, that will not give these statements a contradiction, as *palpably* false. We know individual ministers, who have under their care from fifteen hundred to two thousand regular members of christian churches; and we know one, not a thousand miles from the spot where we now write, who has at this moment under his care at least four hundred and fifty colored persons, free and slaves—all regular members of a christian church, among whom are many intelligent men, some of them close readers, and it is thought, close students. They have a Sunday school, a missionary society to send the gospel to Africa, the land of their fathers, and regular worship in a large brick church, built by themselves and their friends, *white* and *coloured*. Here are some christians.

But this subject shall not rest on our evidence alone, we will give other and better documents, and prove to any disinterested and candid reader, that the statements of Dr. Channing and Hon. W. Jay, and their abolition

brethren, are a direct slander on all the slave holding states. A slander which, as the means of being informed are within the reach of all, would seem to be as *malicious* as it is *false*. Now we contend that what has been stated respecting the treatment and condition of slaves in the slave holding states, (making allowance for extreme cases, which in the present iniquitous condition of the world, will exist every where in all the relations of human life,) by Dr. Channing, Judge Jay, and their abolition associates, is, when society is looked at as a whole, a gross slander on those states. We will not descend to the low, vulgar, or obscene, and *surely all* will allow, ungenerous attacks on the entire South, MALES and FEMALES, as winking at all the crimes of "fornication," "adultery," "cruelty and murder," which by the misrepresentations of others, are poured on the inhabitants thereof. We meet the question on fair and open ground, and we believe we can sustain it, by establishing facts that must appear to all who consider this matter impartially, as altogether reasonable. We desire the reader to bear in mind, what has been repeatedly proved from various sources in our previous remarks and quotations, that slavery is an institution, which in its origin and progress was repelled and resisted almost to extremity by Virginia and the South, and that by their own voluntary efforts, they have prevented, when they had the power, by law to do so, the further introduction of slaves into those states. That the augmentation of the number of slave holding states, originated in the natural and necessary extension, of both the white and colored population, the Louisiana purchase excepted. And in this, British cupidity, strengthened by British power, under that part of the treaty of Utrecht, called the *assiento*, poured in slaves by thousands on that *present* fair portion of our country, either by her monopolies called the African and South Sea Companies, or by her emissaries, not one of whom, from the monarch down, ever abandoned the slave trade, until it ceased to be profitable to them. And as an offset against abolition slanders, we further say, that the condition of our slaves, mental, moral and political, is far preferable to the former condition of their

fathers, and the present condition of their brethren in Africa.

Of that former condition, in their fatherland, we have treated, and proved too, by all history, ancient and modern, that Africa from time immemorial, has had four-fifths of its inhabitants, at least, in bondage; and that the universal law, among the thousand tribes that rule its vast wastes, is, on conquest, *slavery, or death*. In ninety-nine cases out of one hundred, it is expulsion from the shores of Africa and slavery too, or death. Driven then by Africans out of Africa, brought here by British, Dutch and other slavers, they have been forced as we have seen on all the South. But the generous, noble, kind-hearted southerners have not neglected the untaught savage. O! no! They sought to better his condition; they have done so, and in answer to the abolition slanders of Dr. Channing, Judge Jay and others, we present the condition of the African in America, as far superior *mentally, morally, and politically*, to that of his fathers or his brethren in Africa. Look at his mental condition. It is said "he is ignorant and unenlightened." This is admitted, but we ask are not others so? What is the state, the ignorant and savage state, of the Indians, though surrounded with civilization and all its benefits—although they live in some of the states, in the midst of light? Look at the former, look at the present condition of Africa! Is there a chief there, even though he may have become christianized *of late*, through the efforts of the colonization and missionary societies, who is equal in mental attainments, to the African in the slave-holding states? I doubt whether there is a negro that can be found in all the South, as ignorant as the greatest chief, now reigning and ruling his tribe, on the western coast of Africa. Many of the American negroes read and write, many of them are first rate business men, farmers, mechanics, clerks. Some of them are scientific men. Several with whom we are personally acquainted are first rate preachers, good divines, men of learning. Slaves it is true. Aye slaves! but men of sound common sense and extensive reading. One in Mississippi, a carpenter by trade, called Stephen Johnson, belonging to a Major Demoss, a friend of ours

now present, informs us is a man of such scientific attainments, that white as well as colored persons delight to hear him preach. Two or three of our personal acquaintances, ordained ministers, men of exalted talents, of sterling integrity, are regarded and respected by all who know them, an honour to that society, *true a slaveholding society*, in which they were raised, educated, converted, ordained ministers, and in which they now successfully operate.

The intelligence of the southern negro extends to and equals all the business operations of a farm, and all the horticultural and other duties of domestic life. In all these, he is his master's adviser, his master's planter, his master's manager, and indeed like Abraham's servant, his master's "steward" and friend. We may here assert without the fear of contradiction from any person, who is generally and intimately acquainted throughout Virginia and the South, that the ratio of intelligence is equal among the slaves of those parts, "untaught" as they are said to be, with the laboring population of any portion of Europe, and would not suffer much by a comparison with that of some states, where there is such a boast of freedom. This opinion of ours is founded on an absolute personal acquaintance with the colored race in the South. Moreover we go farther, we believe their condition *mentally* superior to that of the serfs and peasantry of some European states.

On the great whole, therefore, after all the statements of abolitionists, there are those and many of them too, who would honour *the North itself*. We have long known Eli Nugent and Joseph Cartwright, of Loudoun county, and Luke Johnson and John Scott, and Charles Scott, and John Chinn, of Prince William, and David Chapman, of Spotsylvania, and Thomas Jones, of Lancaster, and Lot Carey, of Richmond city, and Beverly R. Wilson, of Portsmouth and Norfolk, Captain Cooper, of Caroline, and Daniel Carr and dozens of others, in Virginia, most of whom could earn and have earned, \$1,000 per annum, as business men, clerks, tradesmen, salesmen, superintendents; and their wives and daughters, equal in cleanliness, domestic qualities, qualifications, and

intelligence too, with the poor laboring white population of some states which we could name, and of course superior to any man in his savage state—as much so indeed as day surpasses night. Their forefathers came to Virginia and the South, *untaught savages*. Who instructed, who taught them all these things? Did the abolitionists?

One of the persons last named by us was a West India trader, an extensive merchant in Virginia—all of them business men. We do know these things of which we speak, from an experience and an intimate acquaintance of thirty-five years, having been born, raised, and educated among slaves. We can name such men as Evans Williams, Daniel Webster, David Bruce, Daniel Bruce, Cook's Jack, all in the same state, and a hundred others *good* and *true* men, born slaves, now freemen, well educated and doing well, prospering in business, and as far removed from the savage state as men can well be. We have been circulating north, south, east, west, though we never have been, are not now, and never expect to be, as before stated, a slave-holder, and we know that the declarations of abolitionists, respecting the negroes being "reduced to the condition of a brute," by slave-holders, is a sheer fabrication, a gross slander, done to effect selfish, if not political ends. And to prove our sincerity in making this statement, we challenge doctor Channing, or Judge Jay, to select without previous training for the purpose, one hundred, or twenty-five, or twelve laboring countrymen, or *townsmen* either, north of Mason and Dixon's line, to meet as many of our Virginia or southern colored men, who shall come without any previous training or preparation, to Washington City, at any time, and before an assembled Congress, they, or Dr. Channing and Judge Jay being auditors and judges, who shall decide on their *comparative quantum* of intelligence, from the motions and order of the heavenly bodies to a patch of potatoes, an onion bed, a jar of pickles or a box of Yankee notions. There is only one thing in which the southern colored man would come short. Southern negroes, like their masters, are liberal and generous beyond all calculation. They abhor all that is *mean* and *niggardly*, and boast in sharing, as do their masters, the last

hoe cake and *herring* with their fellow men. They know how to make money and many of them do make it, but they do not know how to save it. In this respect they would bear but a poor comparison with our northern friends, who, we will admit both know how to make and keep the “*ready rhino*.”

Some will be astonished to hear us name Plato Hutt, a slave for life, who for cash, the product of his poultry and gardens, his labor and industry, buys thirty and forty dollars worth of books at a time, and has and reads, as hundreds do, almost all the temperance and religious papers and tracts in circulation. *Not the abolition papers!* These they have publicly denounced as tending to injure and overwhelm with ruin the colored race. See Baltimore Address.* Ah “but these are Virginia or Maryland negroes. Go farther South.” We answer to this, all we say is intended for the South. What would you think to hear in our southern country, a colored preacher, living in the state of *Mississippi*? Yes, in the state of Mississippi, a slave, an orator, preaching to hundreds of white and colored persons, introducing into his discourse, science of almost every kind, and thus displaying the infinite wisdom and glorious perfections of the mighty God, whilst his listening audience, enraptured and excited to a degree of devotion, equal to any thing perhaps ever witnessed north of the Hudson, delight to hear and honour him. What would our northern brethren think of a colored slave, preaching in the very heart of a slave-holding population, to eight or ten thousand white persons, and thousands of colored, all bathed in tears, and bowing with him before a throne of mercy, to praise the matchless power of Grace Divine? What would they think of beholding in Carolina and Georgia one, two, three hundred colored children, in a Sunday school, taught therein with the approbation of their owners, Sabbath after Sabbath? And this was a common thing until the abolitionists began to endanger, by their inflammatory papers and

* The address of the colored people of Baltimore, drawn up by the Rev. Messrs. Fortie, Peck, and Livingston, one a regularly ordained Protestant Episcopal clergyman, the others ordained Methodist ministers, and all coloured men. This is an admirable paper.

efforts, the peace and order of society, and the welfare and safety of both the master and slave.

We have seen on a Sabbath morning and afternoon, on the plantation of an old valued friend, Mr. John Murphy, of Westmoreland county, Virginia, at least one hundred little negroes, assembled under a large bush arbour in the old man's yard, to be taught Sabbath after Sabbath, by his grandsons, the Masters Rogers, sons of an officer of the last war. As the writer of this walked from the arbour toward the garden, to view the monument reared by the hands of that brave soldier, over the grave of his amiable and pious wife, the mother of those boys, we beheld a sight, such as would make abolitionists themselves weep for joy, if they can *feel and weep*. We beheld the granddaughters of that venerable gentleman, none other than the lovely daughters of the late wealthy, popular, and excellent states' attorney, of that county, John Campbell, Esq. seated in a cabin door, and around them gathered grown coloured people, who had been at church that morning, to whom they were reading the word of Almighty God, whilst off at a distance sat an ancient coloured man, reading in his Bible to his aged wife and their daughter that word. Ah! how often also have we seen the maid seated to hear her mistress read, and then unite in prayer with her until they were in each others arms, praising the God of all grace. And how often have I heard the master reading to his servants, and then bow with them at the same altar, and look for eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.

What will abolitionists think of a *coloured* man in Mississippi, being a *doctor of medicine*? What of his being a regular practitioner of physic in Port Gibson, in that state? What of his owning in Hinds county two farms? What of his being a citizen by a special act of the legislature? No quack, but a regular graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, with the great Dr. Rush as one of its professors? Will abolitionists say, that such men "are reduced to a condition worse than a brute?" Whilst living, patronized by men of science, now dead, Dr. Gowen, this coloured man, as we are informed, is remem-

bered and beloved by all—by slaveholders too, who know as well as *others*, to separate the *precious* from the *vile*, and to give even to a coloured man, though a *slave*, according to his merits.

But let us turn to the moral condition of the slaves in the slave-holding states. Judge Jay says, and Dr. Channing and the abolitionists come into his help, that nearly three millions of them are “compelled to live without God, and die without hope.” That is to say, there are no christians among the three millions of slaves, if there be so many in the slave-holding states. There is nothing done to make them christians; worse than this, they are “compelled to live without God;” this is bad enough, but the picture is still more dark, they are “compelled” to “die without hope.” Well may these great men preach, if this be the case, a successful *crusade* against all the South. Well may old ladies become deranged, and get up petitions twelve yards and a half long, signed by men, women, and children, colored and white, for Congress to put down the slavery of the South.* Aye, and the *slaveholders* too. What—compel three millions of immortal souls “to live without God, and die without hope?”

But stop, let us hear both sides. Now we deny it. We aver that this is only one among ten thousand abolition slanders. And we affirm that what has been done, and is now doing to better the moral condition of the negro slaves in the South, prove such assertions to be both slanderous and false. We are truly sorry to say that we feel constrained thus flatly to contradict such great men. But facts are stubborn things, and who can get over them? In speaking of the mental condition of the slaves of the South, we have had to make allusion to things properly relating to the moral state of some, chiefly, however, to individual cases. When therefore, now, we speak of their moral condition, we allude to *them as a whole*. We have been among the negroes south of the Potomac and those north of it; we have known them, we have known them for thirty-five years; we have watched them, we

*This is a fact to our own knowledge.

were raised, educated, and have long lived among them on both sides of that ancient river, and have known them a great way north, and south, and east, and west of it. From a personal knowledge, we can testify that most of the coloured people of standing and steady habits, belong to some one of the large christian denominations. It is true they are said to be "ignorant," and this religious inclination may be a mark of their ignorance, in the estimation of *some*; but we hope it is no evidence that they are "compelled to live without God, and die without hope."

We know that it has been customary for more than twenty years, to talk at the North about the destitute condition of other parts. And when men desire to raise a salary to sustain themselves in the South, until they can get "a call" to a good living, they commence preaching upon the destitute condition of Virginia and the South. We remember that in 1818, two gentlemen came preaching in the lower parts of Virginia; and a long report was made, of the want of Bibles, and preachers, and christian institutions, and the awful, miserable destitution of all that tract of country, in length about one hundred miles, and varying from fifteen to thirty miles in width. At that very time, to our own knowledge, there were regularly ordained christian ministers, most of them in charge of large and deeply pious congregations, amounting in number as follows: Ministers, twenty to twenty-five, with a church membership of at least three thousand white, and as many coloured people, besides other societies and associations, with all the christian sacraments regularly attended to. And yet these people were "*des-
titute of the regular stated means of divine grace*," according to the statements and reports of these missionary gentlemen. Why was it so? The answer is found in the fact, that there were but a few, if any, of their own denomination there. They hunted a call awhile, but notwithstanding *our destitute condition*, set down with a good salary, a long—long distance from thence. We do abhor this puritanical canting; this is the way in which statements are made for effect. It was customary, and was not considered a sin, for a certain church, to *tell lies to do good*. We do not subscribe to the doctrine, nor did

St. Paul, who said, "What, shall we sin that grace may abound? God forbid." We know it is very easy to say, that there are almost three millions of coloured people, where men know no better, when there are not the means of contradicting it, who are "compelled to live without God, and die without hope," "being reduced to the condition of a brute," by masters, in whose souls "dies all that is like God."

But what will our brethren and fellow-citizens at the North say, when they hear, and of this they may judge themselves, that there are thousands, and tens, if not scores of thousands of regular coloured church members, in the christian churches south of the Potomac? True, the negroes are so *ignorant*—there are none of them, I believe, *professedly "infidel."* We have never known a negro, who professed to be an *Atheist*, an *Infidel*, a *Unitarian*, or a *Universalist*, though we have been acquainted with at least one hundred thousand of these sable sons of Africa. We suppose from what Dr. Channing and the Hon. Mr. Jay, and their *abolition* associates say, it is because the negroes are so "ignorant." Yes! we repeat it, they are "so *ignorant*," that they are chiefly all, in the south, members of three or four denominations: Protestant Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, among all of whom are coloured ministers of exalted standing, who would honour any pulpit in America. There is a fifth class also, called *sinners*, but these are *so very tenacious* respecting this matter, so very *fastidious too*, that they will not consent to hear, much less unite themselves to any other, than *Protestant orthodox denominations*. This is their "ignorance" we suppose—or because, as Dr. Channing says, they are reduced beneath "the brute," or, as Judge Jay says, "are compelled to live without God." *We believe* it is because they are plain, common sense, matter-of-fact men, as most of the labouring population of every country are. And for this exaltation, mental and moral, and this, as it regards the choice of religion independent state, they are indebted to those who have reared and taught them to be like themselves, plain, honest, matter-of-fact men.

The once degraded savage state of their fathers, is

forgot by both the master and slave; the latter delights to respect, obey, and imitate the former, whilst living, and he reveres his memory when he is dead. While his owner glories in knowing, that his servants speak of him, whithersoever they go, as their kindest friend under God, all his anxiety and care is to provide for them the common comforts of life, consistent with his own and their interest. But this is reducing them to a condition lower than that of a "brute," it is compelling them "to live without God, and die without hope." But that our northern, and eastern, and western *abolition* friends may not suppose that we desire or design to give our own statements, as the evidence on which rests the truth of our assertions, concerning the moral condition of the negroes of the south, we will give a few statistics, and refer to some laws as well as facts to prove all this. We have said that there are thousands of coloured persons, regular members in the four large orthodox Protestant churches, south of the Potomac.

Upon an examination, although we have not all the reports of the different churches at hand, which we desire to lay before the impartial and candid reader, yet, we find, there are in one department of the christian church in the United States, hundreds of missionaries and itinerant ministers, whose duty it is to devote as much as they can, if not all of their time, to the enlightenment and religious instruction of the coloured people, within their bounds. On the plantations in the south, on the islands and banks, in the swamps, in the towns and cities, in the Sunday schools, in churches built especially for them, by the planters, sustained and supported in many instances, by the masters, for the benefit of the coloured people, and their benefit alone, these men of God are laboring day and night. Among those they have under their care are some of the most deeply pious men and women that we have ever known; persons who honour God in all their walk, and whose masters would not have them be without their ministers, their religious services and instructions, on any account. The Methodist denomination also has many coloured members in all their circuits and stations throughout the slave-holding states, as well as their

missionary members. In the city of Baltimore alone are upward of 3,000 coloured members. In the District of Columbia at least 1,600. In the state of Virginia about 10,000 ; in South and North Carolina 35,000 ; in Georgia about 10,000 ; in Alabama, Tennessee Arkansas, Kentucky and Missouri, about 12,000. In the United States now, but little short of 100,000. Astonishing!—and yet all these christian Methodists are “reduced to a condition worse than that of a brute ;” “are compelled to live without God, and die without hope,” as abolitionists say.

In the Baptist denomination the colored membership is far more numerous than in any other south of the Potomac. Often have we witnessed the diligence, the care, the order, and the faithfulness of the Baptist ministry, in waiting upon, preaching to, and instructing the coloured man, in the way to everlasting life. Who that ever heard of the pious labours of the venerable Leland, and Fristoe, and Lunsford, the Baptist pioneers of former days. Who that ever knew any thing of a Semple, Strann, Lathram, Moore, Jeter, Broaddus, Mason, Montague, and hundreds of others, with whom we were not personally acquainted, that does not feel able to testify, not only to their usefulness among, and their zeal for the coloured race ; but the undissembled piety and devotion of thousands of their coloured members. Although we know that the Baptist coloured members out number those of the Methodist, at least four-fold, we will set them down as only double, and here are 200,000 Baptist christians, which added to the Methodists make 300,000. There are more Baptist and Methodists among the colored people, than there are Presbyterians and Episcopalian, we set both down as equal only to one of these denominations. Here then are 200,000 more, which added to the above make 500,000 regular church members among the coloured people. These form only about one-fourth of those who attend service regularly.

When those who are not church members are added to the above, it will make at least two millions of slaves in regular attendance on divine service. In some places they have large spacious churches for themselves as in Baltimore Alexandria, Charleston ; in others, they have

seats appropriated for them on the lower floor, or a portion, or the whole of the galleries of churches. We do not know in any slave-holding state in this union, a neighbourhood, where a church has been built for any of the above named orthodox Protestant denominations, in which, a portion thereof, was not set apart for the coloured people, unless they have a church of their own, or other provision in some church in the vicinity. But we do know churches at the north, where no seats are provided for coloured persons, though they live hard by those churches. The Roman Catholics amount to 100,000 more.

Now whilst abolitionists preach, until all the old ladies and young ones too, are almost dying of sorrow, to free and bring off these *untaught* negroes who "are compelled to live without God and die without hope," that they may teach them a *better way*: Look ye! Here are two millions in regular attendance at the house of prayer. What say you northern and eastern brethren, what say you to all this? Will you look into the minutes of the Methodist, Baptist, Protestant Episcopalian and Presbyterian denominations, and make the calculations for yourselves? We tell you "truth is almighty and must prevail." "Error is an edifice erected on the sand, to be endangered by every wind and every wave." We appeal to facts, stubborn incontrovertible facts, and we defy successful contradiction. We now ask, who instructed these once *untaught* savages, forced on the south? Who taught them this "new and living way?" How could they hear without a preacher? "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God," who has worn out himself and died at his post, teaching the coloured man to love and serve his Maker? Those vituperative abolitionists, who, according to the testimony of the coloured people themselves, are at present, and have been for years, the coloured man's greatest foes.

We give now their opinion of this subject as penned by John Fortie and William Livingston, and Daniel Peck, of Baltimore, the committee appointed to draw up the address of the coloured population of Baltimore, against abolitionism. In the Baltimore American, of September 29th, 1835, there appeared a piece signed "a white citi-

zen," which referred to the condition of the coloured people of that city. To the efforts made, abolition statements to the contrary, to meliorate their condition, for their mental improvement, their peaceable, orderly and good conduct, notwithstanding the *abolition commotions*, and an appeal to them to pursue the same blameless course. This brought out the coloured people, who by their three ministers, John Fortie, of the Sharp street Methodist Episcopal Church, Daniel Peck, of the Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church, and William Livingston, of the St. James' Protestant Episcopal Church, all coloured men, acting in the name and as the representatives of the coloured congregations of Baltimore, through the same paper addressed the public.

In this address they state that, with humility and gratitude they sincerely acknowledge the efforts made to meliorate and better their condition, and the great mental improvement resulting from the same, they set forth their confidence in the philanthropy and forbearance as well as kindness of the white population, and proclaim not only their reliance with confidence upon it, but their determination to conduct themselves in the most peaceable and orderly manner; submitting willingly their destiny to the guidance of heaven, with the determined resolution to unite their feeble efforts with the white population of Baltimore in resisting, as hostile to the welfare and happiness of the coloured man, as well as to the peace and order of society, abolition excitements. But let them speak for themselves, and let our readers judge for themselves, from those extracts made from this excellent address. Yea, more! let abolitionists see the opinions entertained of them and their movements by the most prudent and sensible among the coloured population of our country.

They proceed and say—

“Therefore, whatever may be the excitement in the community in which we live, or elsewhere, we deem it our paramount, but humble duty, to pledge our fidelity, and that of our brethren, to the christian public, in the sincere hope thereby to remove, if possible, any unfounded impressions as to there being any disposition among us,

or our brethren *generally*, of the city or vicinity of Baltimore, to countenance any views or movements which tend to disturb the peace, to alienate the feelings, to provoke the jealousies, or to jeopardize the safety of the citizens of the said community.

“We, therefore, sincerely hope that it will not be considered superfluous or indecorous, if we detail a few particulars why we and our brethren are bound by the most sacred duty to act as good and conscientious citizens, by carefully and scrupulously avoiding all interference and attempts to interfere, and all manifestation of any intention or a wish to interfere with the peculiar interests, concerns, and laws of the community in which we live. *First.* We have within the said city ten places dedicated to the social worship of Almighty God, wherein we are permitted to worship the Lord according to the dictates of our own conscience, and are protected by the laws of the community. *Secondly.* We have among us from thirty-five to forty benevolent institutions, both male and female, for mutual relief, each of which numbers from thirty-five to a hundred and fifty members, and much of the money thereof is in some of the savings’ institutions of this city—and also among us there are various mechanics and others, who have, by industry and frugality, purchased houses and lots of ground, horses, drays, carts and carriages; all of which are sustained and protected by the laws of the community. *Thirdly.* The endearing social relations among us, of husband and wife, father and mother, of brother and sister—our many week day and Sabbath schools, in which we are trying to train up our children in the way they should go; by acting thus we hope, with the blessing of the Lord, to form in them the basis of moral virtue, a correct and well regulated mind, whereby they will be led to abhor vice and immorality, and keep the good order, and appreciate the peace of the community in which they live, as good citizens. *Fourthly.* The various employments afforded the free coloured population, by the humane and influential white citizens—the respect that is shown to the orderly and discreet part of the said population, by the captains of

steamboats and the owners of other public conveyances, when passing to and from this city.

“Surely, while possessing the benefits which industry and integrity, in this prosperous community, insures to all its inhabitants—enjoying the rich blessing of the religion of Christ, by opportunities of worshipping the only true God, under the light of christianity, each of us according to our own understanding, and having afforded to us and our brethren the means of improving our condition, whereby we are enabled to make great mental improvement—all of which are enough to convince us and our brethren, that whatever tends to disturb the commerce, to molest or destroy the peace and harmony of the community, the coloured population always feel the greatest pressure. Can the thinking, wise and humane part of the white citizens of this great community, be led to believe that we or our brethren, in view of the privileges herein detailed, and the awful calamity that must come upon us and our brethren, should we, or they, or any member thereof, be so perfidious as to become the abettors or destroyers of the public order and tranquillity, in any way whatsoever.

“Now, in view of these particulars, we can emphatically say, that we believe that not only the congregations over which we preside, but the other coloured congregations also of this city and vicinity, and the coloured population generally, are on the side of peace and good order, and are determined, with the blessing of God, to pursue the same blameless course of conduct as heretofore. Therefore we will, by Divine permission, faithfully and conscientiously support, with *fidelity*, our pledge herein given, *and may the day be darkened*, whenever we, *knowingly and willingly*, deviate from our pledge.

“Signed in behalf of the said coloured population.

“JOHN FORTIE,

“Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Sharp street.

“NATHANIEL PECK,

“Minister of the Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church.

“WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,

“Minister St. James’ Protestant Episcopal Church, Baltimore.

“September 26th, 1835.”

With these men we were personally acquainted. Livingston was a well educated and regularly ordained minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in Baltimore, a man of good acquirements and some oratorical powers. He lived and died in the opinions here expressed. Fortie is a most excellent minister, as is his venerable father, with whom we are also personally acquainted. Both are men of education, regarded and respected by all who know them. They expressed these, as do thousands of others with them now, as the opinions of the coloured people respecting this northern abolition movement. The truly considerate and wise coloured man, never has, does not now, and never can say to such dis-organizers, "God speed you." O! no—no!

Abolitionists may raise a dust, and keep themselves off at a distance out of harm, whilst the unsuspecting coloured man, or his upright master, or both, are forced by their efforts into a gulph, where all must certainly be wrecked and ruined. We shall never forget the fable which we read when yet but very young, of "the boys throwing stones into a pond, in which were many frogs." Abolitionists, to accomplish their own selfish and political purposes, throw arrows, fire-brands and death in our midst. They are safe, and being so, care not whom or how many they injure. And but for the exalted piety of thousands of southerners, and that too of their faithful and devoted servants, God only knows what would be the consequences. The first blow struck to excite and bring on a servile war, would be but the signal for a destruction of the descendants of those transported to these shores, against the will of the South. A destruction as complete as revenge, fired with indignation, could possibly make it.

That no effort on the part of northern abolitionists has as yet been able to accomplish such a diabolical end, is but another and a truly striking evidence of the forbearance of the masters, and of the fact, that the piety of the southern slaves is deep and undissembled, and that they, instead of being "compelled to live without God, and die without hope,"—instead of being "reduced to a condition beneath that of a brute," have been taught and persuaded

to leave their father's savage state, and have attained a degree of religion, that does honour to both their heads and their hearts. It is wonderful to see how immensely the moral condition of that race has been bettered, by a removal from Africa to America.

We come now to consider their present political state. It is said by those who are only accustomed to think of a master as an oppressor, and a servant or slave, as one that is oppressed, that the political relation and condition of the slaves, is one of unparalleled wretchedness and want. The necessity of providing for the protection of the person and property of all, and especially so, when the slave population, originally, was in a state completely barbarian, must be obvious. But we may appeal to the laws and decisions of any country and prove by a fair comparison that those laws that are passed, are chiefly preventive. And that they exhibit by no means a disposition on the part of the white man to tyrannize over the slave. These laws upon an investigation will be found far less severe than those of England, with all her boasted claim of liberty and philanthropy. We now place before the candid reader a collection of these laws, made by a gentleman of exalted standing, a resident of a free state, who never owned a slave. He gives us a synopsis of each, and thus shows the *true* superiority of the coloured man, as to political privilege over thousands in other civilized lands. The laws for his government being chiefly preventive and protective as we have suggested, tend to the benefit and safety of the coloured as well as white race.

Let us then with coolness and deliberation examine them, and let our northern brethren decide themselves, as to the true political condition of southern slaves.

Under the penalty of death by the laws of England at this moment, there can be no assemblages in Ireland, at all, of a night. But in the slave-holding states generally, the people go where they please to divine service at night, to other places such as to corn shuckings, or husking and picking matches, by custom, which is law, and to any place at any time, with a note or pass from their masters, mistresses, or overseers. On a violation of the peace

at such meetings, the punishment is only by stripes. 2. The meetings among slaves, when broken up at all, are broken up by a peace officer, or a regular patrol; but among the Irish, according to English laws, by an infuriated soldiery, with all the severities of martial law. 3. Among white men, in England, it is felony to possess fire-arms. Severe penalties are inflicted on those selling liquor, having shows without license, and perjury, forgery, setting fire to barns, stables, houses, &c., are punished in England with *death*, and but lately, in the counties of Kent and Sussex, many were hanged without benefit of clergy, for these offences. But the slaves in America for these offences are only punished with stripes, or banishment. 4. Preparing and administering poison, rape, conspiracy against the government, in England, is death; and if the same be proved as intentionally done by a slave in America, it is punished in the same way, but he is generally recommended to mercy and transported. 5. Shooting a partridge, ensnaring a hare, without license, and stealing a loaf of bread, in England are punished by transportation, and many of the capital crimes, as they are called, which are punished by death in England; in America, among slaves, are punished by stripes, branding, or by the loss of ears as in the case of perjury. In America itself, the laws are virtually more lenient to the ignorant slave than his enlightened master, for the former cannot be condemned of any offence without the unanimous consent of five judges, sitting as a court of *Oyer and Terminer*, whilst the white man has his cause or case decided by a majority only of the court. And we challenge any man to show that the laws for the government of slaves, are less humane in principle or in practice than those of England, for the government of the white man. She may find a sufficient exercise of her humanity, in the revision of her code at home, without looking to those of the slave-holding states, for the government of servants. To all this we may add, that, virtually, the people of England have no more to do in making the laws for their own government, than have the slaves of America, and indeed little or no power to repeal them when severe and tyrannical. The greatest

portion on whom those laws in England operate, have no more to do in making or repealing them than has the great Mogul, and the abolitionists know it, as well as we do. 6. Besides, the laws by which the slaves of the south are governed, are not more oppressive than those of many states of this Union. We have ourselves seen a white man whipt for petty larceny. Some are so philanthropic, that they cannot brook the idea of corporeal punishment, much less the sale of a man; and yet England sells them, the states sell *vagrants*, and *whip white men*. In New York, the law was to whip white men for *minor* offences, at the discretion of a justice of the peace, and in most of the states, this law is a part of their code. Indeed, we believe that occasionally a little whipping would mend the manners of some abandoned men, whose wives and children are thrown on the public for a support, whilst *they* are well fed, and clothed, and attended to, in a good room in prison, at the expense of others. The lazy, whether negroes or white men, would like a little indulgence and rest of this kind in a comfortable jail, when a little flogging for their crimes would at once set them to rights. To confine for minor offences the slave, would be manifestly unjust, because his master would be deprived of his services. We could name too, some states, if it would not be considered invidious, where the power of the husband over his wife is such, that he may flog her if he chooses, as an officer does the *common sailor or soldier*, and is protected therein, "in his rights." Yes! RIGHTS OVER WOMAN, the weaker vessel, so that whipping be but "*moderate*." But it is said that there is an indemnity for such, in the laws of the land, by which they are protected; so there is in the laws of the slave-holding states, by which the coloured race are also protected from the master's abuse of his power over them. But again, it is said, there are cases, where that power is abused. Admitted! And although we would not, nor does the law justify it, in the most indirect manner, it must also be recollected, that many parents and husbands every where, including the land of steady habits, abuse their power, over their children and wives, and are there, therefore, no laws to protect them? They

have also a tie, a tie of ownership, one of interest, which acts on them, and they are not disposed, except in isolated cases, to injure their own property, by an abuse of power. It is a slander, a libel, one too at war with all our experience, to suppose that a man can delight to injure his own property, and thereby lessen its value. The man that starves, or maims, or injures, or kills his slave, cannot have his services. The man that thus treats his wife or children, cannot retain their society and affections; but because some men do it, in either instance, is it therefore to be charged on all?

To all this we may add, the resistance of public opinion, which denounces the man that treats his slaves ill, as it would the lawless, bad husband. Public odium would mark him out. The neighbouring negroes would put him in every corn husking and picking match song. He would be glad enough to feed, and clothe, and take care of his servants, to get them to aid him in the redemption of his character. From personal observation, we believe, there is nothing that affords a planter so much pleasure, as to hear that the negroes of his farms, give him *abroad* a good name, and nothing mortifies him so much as to hear the reverse. We once knew a man whose ox broke his neck. He had him butchered and salted. The negroes of the neighbourhood got hold of it, they put it into their corn song at the next husking match, and the poor fellow had actually to move from the neighbourhood. In another instance, a man who was known to treat his negroes ill, could not get the neighbouring slaves to come and aid in shucking out his corn, although he uniformly gave good suppers, a great dance, and a plenty to drink. Their masters and owners would not make them go, because they knew the man was a hard master, and the negro report of him to be true. We repeat, there may be, and doubtless are cases of cruelty; but the abolition slang of doctor Channing, Judge Jay, and their associates, taken with respect to slave states, as a whole, is a libel on southerners. The coloured man in the south is one of the happiest on earth; he is provided for by his master; this master is forced to do it *by law*, if he does not do it, by law it is done,

and the master forced to pay for it. The slave works out his moderate task, and then sports or plays—at the cross-roads, the court-house, the village, the town, the city, or where and as he pleases, provided that he perform his moderate task of domestic duties. True, in corn planting, fodder gathering or cotton picking time, like the labourers at the north and east in harvest, *pumpkin or apple-butter* and *cider-pressing* time, the men, women and children are as busy as bees—all, all at work.

We have ourselves often seen in the free states, the beautiful, sweet looking *lasses*, with a reap-hook, a pitchfork, or a rake, hard at it in the broiling sun, vieing with the young men in reaping wheat, or curing hay. These scenes afforded us a pleasure far superior to that of beholding *sometimes* the men, as it is called, “paling the cows.”* This is only surpassed in liveliness, by the negroes at the corn huskings or picking matches, when they are singing one of their wild songs, often made as they go along. The leader sings his part, and all hands join in the chorus, so that they can sometimes of a calm day or evening, be heard at least three miles. With the assistance of a friend now at hand, we give the reader a part of one of their wild songs. We hope that he will not consider it improper, as we do it only to illustrate the point in hand.

“LEADER.—I loves old Virginny.
 L. I love to shuck corn.
 L. Now’s picking cotton time.
 L. We’ll make the money, boys.
 L. My master is a gentleman.
 L. He came from the Old Dominion.
 L. And mistress is a lady.
 L. Right from the land of Washington.
 L. We all live in Mississippi.
 L. The land for making cotton.
 L. They used to tell of cotton seed.
 L. As dinner for the negro man.
 L. But boys and gals its all a lie.
 L. We live in a fat land.
 L. Hog meat and hominy.
 L. Good bread and Indian dumplins.

CHORUS.—So ho! boys! so ho!
 C. So ho, &c.
 C. So ho, &c.

L. Music roots* and rich molasses.	C. So ho, &c.
L. The negro up to picking cotton.	C. So ho, &c.
L. An old ox broke his neck.	C. So ho, &c.
L. He belong to old Joe R—.	C. So ho, &c.
L. He cut him up for negro meat.	C. So ho, &c.
L. My master say he be a rascal.	C. So ho, &c.
L. His negroes shall not shuck his corn.	C. So ho, &c.
L. No negro now will pick his cotton.	C. So ho, &c.
L. Old Joe hire Indian.	C. So ho, &c.
L. I gwine home to Africa.	C. So ho, &c.
L. My overseer says so.	C. So ho, &c.
L. He scold only bad negroes.	C. So ho, &c.
L. Here goes the corn boys.	C. So ho, &c.”

The first leader having sung out his song, all at once a second leader will break out with his, and begins unce-remoniously, perhaps with—

“General Washington was a gentleman.	C. Here goes the corn.
L. I don’t love the pedlars.	C. Here goes, &c.
L. They cheat me in my rabbit skins.	C. Here goes, &c.
L. When I bought their tin ware.	C. Here goes, &c.”

A gentleman of high standing in Virginia mentioned to us a case, but the other day, which is just in point. A minister who lived in *his* neighbourhood was a great tobacco planter. There was not, until very late in the year, any rain to make what is called *a season*, for setting out tobacco plants. Whilst the parson was preaching on a Sunday morning, there came a fine rain. He soon wound up the service, and told his hearers “how grateful they ought to be to God for this fine rain, and now,” said he, “let us go home, draw our plants and set out our tobacco. Come negroes, come negroes, all of you go home and go to planting!” He then called on his own negroes, by name, to be off home immediately and at it. This was such a flagrant violation of morality, and such a bad example, that the negroes put him into their corn songs; and, said this excellent gentleman, “Sir, I assure you it is now twenty-five years since that happened, and they

* Sweet potatoes.

are not yet done singing their song about the old parson." Let us then also give the reader a part of it.

L. The parson say his prayers in church.	C. It rain boys, it rain.
L. Then deliver a fine sermon.	C. It rain boys, it rain.
L. He cut the matter short my friends.	C. It rain boys, &c.
L. He say the blessed Lord send it.	C. It rain boys, &c.
L. <i>Now's</i> the time for planting <i>bacco</i> .	C. It rain, &c.
L. Come my negroes get you home.	C. It rain, &c.
L. Jim, Jack, and Joe and Tom.	C. It rain, &c.
L. Go draw your plants and set them out.	C. It rain, &c.
L. Don't you stop a moment boys.	C. It rain, &c.
L. "Twas on a blessed Sabbath day.	C. It rain, &c.
L. Here's a pretty preacher for you.	C. It rain, &c."

Poor fellow ; *we are told* that he was actually sung out of the neighbourhood.

We have hired slaves, and although as before said more than once, we never owned one, yet, having lived so long among them, we have closely observed and marked them as one of the labouring classes of our country, and from the fact that they have no care in providing for their own families, they are, we believe, the happiest labouring class, as they exist and are situated in Maryland, Virginia and the South, of any in the world.

Who that ever saw the thousands of negroes collected at a camp meeting, from the Eastern and Western Shores of Maryland and Virginia, on the Tangier Islands in the Chesapeake Bay, or at those meetings in the South, thousands of thousands, in Georgia and the Carolinas, will not say so ? Singing, praying, preaching, day and night, free as air. "How can they sing," say abolitionists ? How can they sing, ask you, sirs ? Why for the very best of all reasons. They want but little. That little is amply supplied by a kind master, who is disgraced if he do not care for his servants, and whether he is willing to do it or not, *the law* makes him do it. When *he* cannot do so, another will do it for him. The wife and the children of the negro are provided for by *another*, their master, and with his master's leave, the negro spends a day, a week, or weeks, at the camp meetings, the associations, the courts, at night at a husking match, or any where

else, and that law which protects the master, also protects his slave, and prevents that master from using him ill or abusing his power, in maiming or injuring him or his. If the master were to do this, he must stand at the bar of public opinion—there be disgraced as an unmerciful wretch, and whilst there is one man, who, for gain, would afflict his slaves, there are a thousand masters, who delight to do them good. Just as we *know* is the case with northerners. Here and there you will find a pedlar, from “away down East,” who would, if he could get a chance, and make “*a speck*” by it, cheat you out of your eyes, whilst to our knowledge, and, thank heaven! we delight to say so, and that from delightful experience, some of the finest specimens of generous, noble, disinterested benevolence, real and God-like piety, we have ever seen, have been among our kind Yankee friends of New England. Hundreds if not thousands of such, we could, and would delight to name, if it were proper here. Shall we, because of the brutality of some few overseers or masters, denounce all? Shall we, because of the cunning of some of the sons of New England, denounce all? No! O no! We hope not. We *know* the cruelty of some northern masters to their apprentices, and shall we therefore denounce all? We will not, we dare not, we cannot do it.

To tell the truth, such ample provision is made by law, to protect the slave, that he is better provided for in this respect, than his master. The courts must, in all cases, assign, at the expense of the state, the very best counsel for the accused slave. It cannot, as we have seen, condemn him unless unanimous. He cannot, if condemned to die, be legally put to death under thirty days, unless in times of insurrection and rebellion, and not then unless all the evidence for and against him, is placed upon record, and in some very short time sent to the governor, who has the power to reprieve, and who almost always does it, except in cases *virtually* involving murder. We have seen the present superiority, mental and moral, of the American coloured slave over the native African. We have already shown, and if not, will now do it, by a farther synopsis of laws in his favour, that he is as much

under the protection of law, as any man. 1. Any slave who can do so, with the assistance of his or her master, mistress or friends, may buy him or herself, and his or her wife, or husband, or children, but shall not own slaves. 2. No taxes, fee bills, fines or executions, can be levied on any slave, although held as property, so long as there are goods and chattels wherewith to discharge said claims; and if at any time taken under execution, the officer is bound to feed and support him well, and pay for it first, as a part of the costs of said suit; nor can they be sold by an executor to pay off the debts of his testator, so long as there is other property. 3. No master can make his servant work on Sunday, except in the ordinary household offices. A master or owner of a slave who is infirm, or too young or old to work, an idiot or maniac, must provide for and take care of him, or it is done by the managers of the poor at the master's expense. 4. A doctor, in case of sickness, must be in regular attendance, and should a master neglect, or ill-treat, or maim, or kill a slave, he is put on his trial for murder, and condemned and hung, under various acts, just as in the case of killing a white man. 5. Slaves are at all times permitted to assemble for Divine worship on their owner's farms, and elsewhere at any time, as we have before said, with permission from the overseer or master; and the master, or masters may employ, as many do now, and have long been accustomed to do, a regular minister, to act as a chaplain, for the enlightenment and benefit of their servants. 6. When not charged with a crime affecting life, they may be admitted to bail, as a white man. They are always good witnesses for or against one another, and when circumstances confirm their statements respecting the commission of a crime, by a white man, the latter, we believe, is most generally convicted; it is not *said* to be done on the evidence of a slave, but on *circumstantial* evidence. Now we ask, what is there in the political condition of the slave, so heart-rending, as it is represented to be by abolitionists? What to justify the remarks of Dr. Channing and others, that "their rights are sacrificed," especially "those, the dearest and most sacred, their liberty or freedom?" When did they or their fathers

have it? Who gave them the right, or their abolition friends the right to *ask* or *claim* it for them here? Who dare say that we shall go farther, and give to the children of slaves, forced on *our fathers, the country bought for us, by their blood?* Hold abolition gentlemen, we pray you hold! Ponder your acts a little, lest you stir up a contest that shall end in the destruction of the coloured race on this side the water, if it do not destroy your own brethren, who aided you in your struggles for emancipation from British tyranny.

Let us here for one moment institute a comparison between the condition of the slaves in the United States, and those now in the possession and under the rule of the British government, that boasts of abolitionism. This we cannot better do than by quoting an extract from "The Asiatic Journal, for 1838, published in London," page 221, and appended as a note to the speech of Mr. Bailey in the Virginia House of Delegates, during the session of 1841. Indeed there are many parts of Mr. Bailey's speech so applicable to this point, that we cannot forbear making several quotations from it, although it may be considered as a digression from our main subject.

The piece to which we allude is entitled "*government of slaves in Malabar*," on which subject it was written by the editor, in London, the capital of Great Britain. Mr. Bailey makes the following remarks. "It is a fact which cannot be denied, that British abolition of West India slavery, was an act of pure and unadulterated fanaticism. To prove this I need not refer to the historical truth, that during her brightest days she was the greatest slave-dealer on earth; but I may rest upon the fact, that she was, at the time of West India emancipation, the greatest slaveholder in the world, and hired out her slaves for profit." Mr. Bailey then gives the quotation above alluded to, in the following words :

"We know that there is not a servant of government in the south of India, who is not intimately acquainted with the alarming fact, that hundreds of thousands of his fellow-creatures are fettered down for life to the degraded destiny of slavery. We know that these unfortunate beings are not, as in other countries, *serfs* of the soil, and

incapable of being transferred, at the pleasure of their owners, from one estate to another. No; they are daily sold like cattle, by one proprietor to another; the husband is separated from the wife, the parent from the child; they are loaded with every indignity; the utmost quantity of labour is extracted from them, and the most meagre fare that human nature can possibly subsist on, is doled out to support them. The slave population is composed of a great variety of classes: the descendants of those who have been taken prisoners in time of war; persons who have been kidnapped from the neighbouring states; people who have been born under such circumstances as that they are considered without the pale of the *ordinary castes*, and others who have been *smuggled* from the coast of Africa, torn from their country and their kindred, and destined to a more wretched lot, as will be seen to a more enduring captivity than their *brethren of the western world*. *Will it be believed that government itself participates in this description of property; that it actually holds possession of slaves, and lets them out for hire to the cultivators of the soil, the rent of a whole family, being two farams or half a rupee per annum?*”

“But why dwell on these comparatively free slaves? The whole of Hindostan, with the adjacent possessions, is one magnificent plantation, peopled by more than one hundred millions of slaves, belonging to a *company of gentlemen in England*, called the *East India Company*, whose power is far more unlimited and despotic than that of any southern planter over his slaves, a power upheld by the sword and bayonet, exacting more and leaving less of the product of their labour to the subject race, than is left under our own system, with much less regard to their comfort in sickness and age.” Mr. Bailey continues his remarks thus:

“The success of Abolition in England gave a powerful impulse to it in this country. I have shown that the abolitionists triumphed in England about 1830. Before that time the subject had been but little agitated here, except on one memorable occasion by the citizens of the northern states. Before that time, but few of the people of those states claimed the privilege of regulating *our do-*

mestic concerns for us. Until then, except on the occasion to which I have referred, when the politicians attempted to convert it to their purposes, the agitation of the subject of emancipation, was confined to a few peaceful Quakers. They occasionally petitioned congress upon the subject; their petitions were promptly rejected, and nothing was heard of them thereafter. Their rejection gave rise to no agitation. But after the success of abolition in England, petitions from a different class of persons began to pour into Congress, until in 1836, Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina, in an ill-fated hour moved to refer them to a select committee. Yielding to the fatal delusion that *fanatics* are to be reasoned with, he undertook to argue with them in a congressional report. His vain effort resulted as he ought to have anticipated. His rebuke produced about as much effect upon the abolitionists, as did *Canute's upon the waves*; and the one had about as much excuse as the other for making the attempt.

"Mr. Pinckney made a very elaborate and able report; but so far from its allaying excitement, as was predicted, it only added oil to the flame. Under his resolution the petitions of thirty-seven thousand petitioners were laid upon the table. In 1837, the petitions of one hundred and ten thousand petitioners were laid upon the table under Mr. Patton's resolutions. And in 1838, five hundred thousand shared the same fate. The number of petitions had increased, in three short years, from thirty-seven thousand to five hundred thousand. And this only includes the number presented in the House of Representatives; those presented in the Senate not being taken into the estimate. There were in the United States two hundred and twenty-five abolition societies. In 1836 they numbered five hundred and twenty-seven. The number had risen, in 1837, to one thousand and six. And in May, 1838, they had run up to one thousand three hundred and forty-six! I have not seen a statement of their increase since then, but doubtless they have augmented in the same ratio. These societies contained, in 1838, one hundred and fifty thousand actual enrolled members. I derive these facts from the annual returns of the societies."

In the State of Ohio, where, a few years since, a law was passed to facilitate the recovery of runaway slaves, he says :

"Her supreme court is intelligent and firm. It has lately decided virtually against the constitutionality of an act of the legislature, made, in effect, to favour southern slavery, by the persecution of the coloured people within her bounds. She has already abolitionists enough to turn the scale in her elections, and an abundance of excellent material for augmenting the number. A few years since, a law was passed in this state, providing for carrying into effect the provision of the Constitution of the United States, in relation to fugitives from service. This law was passed in aid of the law of Congress upon the subject, and is a faithful fulfilment of that state's constitutional obligation. But this law has given rise to great excitement in the state. Its repeal is most vociferously demanded. It is denounced as the 'Black Act,' and should it be repealed, doubtless its advocates will go to another extreme, and pass a law similar to the law of New York."

It is not our intention now to discuss the constitutionality of this subject. That may be found in an other place, where we shall again take the liberty in other parts of this work, of quoting largely from Mr. Bailey's most admirable speech, which we have also done from the noble defence set up by others for the southern views on this subject. Who is there that will not be *excited* when he reads the foregoing quotations ? What, hundreds of thousands of abolitionists, with members of congress at their head, *demanding* that the South undo all that they and their fathers have done, to civilize the African race, and better their mental, moral, and political condition ? A race once savage, now comparatively an enlightened and a religious people, and as a labouring class one of the *happiest in all the world*. What, turn them loose to depredate on society, and fall back into their savage state ? And shall England, *slave-holding* England throw the apple of discord in our midst and dare to interfere in our concerns, and call for an emancipation of our slaves ? Slaves in a better condition than thousands

of her own subjects in England itself, not to speak of those in Ireland and Hindostan? What, shall she seek to occasion that we imbrue our hands in a "brother's blood?" God forbid! but we forbear! We will not say what our own indignation at such an act would prompt us to say. We proceed to the discussion of another point in this delicate subject.

PART V.

THAT A DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION OF ALL SLAVES, NOW IN THE SLAVE-HOLDING STATES, UNCONDITIONALLY, AS IT REGARDS THEIR OWNERS, IS VIRTUALLY THE PLAN OF DOCTOR CHANNING, AND AVOWEDLY THAT OF THE ABOLITIONISTS IN GENERAL. THAT SUCH AN ABOLITION OF SLAVERY HERE, AMONG US, BEING FRAUGHT WITH CONSEQUENCES SO REPULSIVE TO THE FEELINGS OF THE WHITES, AND EVIDENTLY SO DANGEROUS AND SUBVERSIVE OF THE SAFETY OF BOTH THE WHITE AND COLOURED POPULATION, IS NOT THE PROPER REMEDY AGAINST THE EVIL OF SLAVERY.

AT first view one hardly knows how to take the great Dr. Channing. We have already suggested that at times he "holds with the hare and runs with the hound." When we first read his piece on slavery we were disposed to think, *in our charity*, that writing in the dark, he did not exactly know what to do, which side to take, and that he desired to examine both sides, and *mark their bearings*. At last it occurred to us that the doctor had written in that ambiguous manner, the better to get southerners to buy and circulate his book. Subsequent events have proved, however indisposed we were to such a conclusion, that it is the true, indeed his only reason, for such a course. Since that, we have read his tract on "Emancipation," and that also on the "Annexation of Texas to the United States." The doctrines of these tracts, as well as the one on slavery, prove beyond a contradiction, that Dr. Channing was at the commencement, is now, and intends to be, an ABOLITIONIST of the *deepest dye*. That he is the mortal, open, downright enemy of *all* the South. That he is ready to join in any measure to uproot its

institutions, and cripple and curtail, if not destroy, its weight, its influence and power, in this union. We repeat we are sorry to be forced to such a conclusion, but before we are done we will quote Dr. Channing, that he may here speak for himself, and by his own words demonstrate, that Garretson, Judge Jay, Scott, Sunderland, and Storrs, do not surpass him, and truly that none of the abolitionists have ever exceeded him either in misrepresentation, abuse, or wanton attack on all the South, including **TEXAS**. Yea more! All these tracts demonstrate this leading fact, one which we have been forced in spite of ourselves, after a careful second reading, and some parts of his books several times, that Dr. Channing is a fanatic, who, whilst he lacks the power, does not lack the disposition to carry out his fanatical principles though at the price of the "life, liberty, fortune, sacred honour," the virtue, yea, *lives*, of ALL the Anglo-American race of the entire South. Heaven forgive us if we be wrong! But we will as promised already, before we are done, give the doctor's own words, and those of the abolitionists to confirm them, as to their true meaning, and let the impartial and intelligent reader judge for himself. We will let Dr. Channing have the benefit of telling his own principles and views on our pages in his own way. If however, we should fail in our quotations from the doctor's tracts, to establish these things, we will go to acts, to deeds, these speak louder than words, and we will adduce his own efforts, to incite Professor Hare of the University of Pennsylvania, to commence this attack on the south in a way and at a time to make it be felt most acutely. Yes, Professor Hare, one of the most talented and renowned professors of chemistry in all the world. One revered, respected and beloved, by thousands of his old, as well as present students in all the south. A professor whose fame is not only on the lips of every man of learning at home, but on the wings of the wind, it has flown over the wide Atlantic, and his work on chemistry will be a text book and companion of the student in Europe and America, when this great man shall be numbered with the dead.

For the present we lay over Dr. Channing's letter to this learned professor to get up a meeting in Philadelphia,

where are generally in attendance from five to seven hundred southern students, to wound and insult their feelings, before an enlightened assembly, to be convened for *anti-slavery* purposes in that great city. We say for anti-slavery purposes, for whoever will read Dr. Channing's tract on the "Annexation of Texas to the United States," will at once perceive that the whole drift of his argument, is, that by this the direct and immediate emancipation of the coloured race in the United States may be presented to his readers, for which he and as we all know, *all* abolitionists contend. We refer however the reader to the letter itself, which may be found in that most admirable and interesting work entitled "**TEXAS AND TEXANS**," by **GENERAL HENRY STAVART FOOTE**, of Mississippi. In the meantime we will undertake to show that the emancipation of the slave population of our country, is, according to Dr. Channing and his abolition associates, a direct, immediate, and entire abolition of slavery, to take place here, that is, in the midst of the slave-holding states. But let them speak to the reader for themselves, and he shall hear them, after that we shall have given a few pithy and facetious remarks of a friend in a letter now before us. For, as Professor Hare received a letter from the *north*, so we have received one, and from a gentleman and a professor too, of exalted standing.

"I notice," says our friend, "the remarks you make respecting the works of Dr. Channing. It will be easy to expose and explode his sophistry; but I doubt whether 'the game is worth the candle,' especially as on the subject of slavery he has written for both markets, north and south, and has *unfortunately belittled* himself into the fable of 'the man, the boy, and the ass,' for in trying to please every body, he has pleased nobody, and lost his ass in the bargain."

For the information of the reader, we notice that sometime in 1835, Dr. Channing put forth his work entitled simply "*Slavery*," it being doubtless, as our friend has suggested, for both markets: the publisher was so sure of an extensive sale, that he had it stereotyped. We have already suggested that its title and *bitter pills* carefully *sweetened*, its abstract principles, wholly inap-

plicable to the facts, as they exist, and his denunciations of the south, covered up with "blarney most sublime," were well calculated to delude southerners into the purchase of his book. The doctor's abolition friends well knew that all his reproofs of abolitionism were only an argument *ad captandum*, and that the apparent force and application of these to themselves, were alike prevented by such expressions as those in which abolitionism is represented not as the cause of "a few enthusiasts, but the cause of freedom." In which it is represented as identifying itself "with all our rights and popular institutions." Abolitionists are set forth as "a persecuted people," whose sufferings command his sympathies, and that persecution as "without a parallel in our country." "The persecuted abolitionists have the sympathies of the civilized world. The country which persecutes them is covering itself with disgrace," says the doctor, "and filling the hearts of the friends of freedom with fear and gloom. Already despotism is beginning to rejoice in the fulfilment of its prophecies, in our prostrated laws and liberty. Liberty is indeed threatened with death in a country, where any class of men are stripped with impunity of their constitutional rights. All rights feel the blow. A community giving up any of its citizens to oppression and violence, is preparing for itself the same fate. It invites chains for itself in suffering them to be imposed on any whom it is bound to protect."

It cannot, of course, be supposed by the considerate reader, that, after the use of such sycophantic language, and that indeed, the language of propitiation to the abolitionists, the south could repose any confidence in the reasonings or professions of Dr. Channing. Were we here to ask the question, and attempt to answer it, what is an abolitionist? we would give Dr. Channing's book on slavery as a definition, and Dr. Channing himself, as we shall see, as one of the most *insinuating* and *untoward* of *all* abolitionists. After opening his case in the introduction, with elaborate protestations of his good feelings, &c., to the south, is it not enough to arouse the indignation of any man, south of Mason's and Dixon's line, to hear his condolence for the "poor persecuted abolition-

ists," who, with a cruelty almost as diabolical as that of Satan himself, would encompass sea and land, heaven and earth, (if they could,) to force their southern fellow-citizens, leagued with them in a solemn compact, called a constitution, which is the basis of the Federal Government, to give their liberty and country to a parcel of African slaves, forced on them, in part, by the fathers of those very abolitionists. What *sickly whining* then, is that condolence of Dr. Channing with the poor persecuted abolitionists, who with *premeditated* and *fiend-like* coldness, would apply the lighted torch, and with murderous hand involve us and our children in a ruin both sudden and complete?

We will give some quotations, we said, before we are done, from Dr. Channing himself, and other abolitionists, to prove all this. One sentence in the very commencement of his work on slavery would be enough. He begins with this principle, and presently we shall see, that he ends with it. The abolition of the negroes, *any how*, is his doctrine. But hear him. "As men," says this doctor, "as christians, as citizens, we (abolitionists) have or owe duties to the slave, as well as to every other member of the community. On this point we have no liberty. The eternal law binds us to take the side of the injured, and this law is peculiarly obligatory, when we forbid him to lift an arm in his own defence." "All other powers may fail. This must triumph. It is leagued with God's Omnipotence. Slavery cannot stand before it." "To embody and express this great truth is in every man's power, and thus every man can do something to break the chain of slavery." "No fellow-creature can be so injured," that is by slavery, "without taking terrible vengeance." We have hardly the space, or time, or disposition, to make the many quotations similar to these, which we might make, from the eight chapters and note of Dr. Channing in this work on slavery, in which are considered: 1. Property. 2. Rights. 3. Explanations. 4. Evils of Slavery. 5. Scripture. 6. Means of Removing Slavery. 7. Abolitionism. 8. Duties, and then his note.

That Dr. Channing is for a direct and an immediate

emancipation, his own declarations to the contrary notwithstanding, is manifest from the fact, that he says, "there is but one obstacle in the way, and that may be easily overcome." "There is," says he, "but one weighty argument against immediate emancipation, namely, that the slave would not support himself and children, by honest industry, that having always worked from compulsion, he will not work without it." "Here lies the strength of the argument for continuing present *restraint*," "restraint" only, says he, "not to be *his master's property*." To be restrained by civil law, but sent off from his master, turned out on society, turned out at once, if he can feed himself and children. If he cannot do this, then only restrained, but not by his master. His master is "a thief," "a robber," a "kidnapper," a "pirate," a "murderer," "worse than a murderer." "Give," says he, "the slaves a disposition and power to support themselves and their families by honest industry, and *complete emancipation should not be delayed one hour*." Why so, doctor? Because says he, "The slave cannot rightfully, and should not be owned, by any body." "His master is educated in injustice," "and has exercised an usurped power from his birth." And what next, doctor? ~~Heard~~ read! let it be marked! "There is but one obstacle to emancipation, and that is the want of that spirit, in which christians and freemen should *resolve to exterminate slavery*." And again, "I do not mean to condemn this mode of action as only evil," that is, action, such as the above abolition action. "There are cases, to which, it is adapted, and, in general, the impulse which it gives is better than the selfish, sluggish indifference to good objects, into which the multitude so generally fall. This enthusiasm of the individual, in a good cause is a mighty power."

The second book of Dr. Channing is entitled "Emancipation," and is, virtually, a kind of commentary on the letters of Mr. Gurney, to Hon. Henry Clay, respecting the effects of a direct and immediate emancipation of the slaves of the West India islands, by Great Britain. Dr. Channing after the sweeping clauses written several years since, which we have quoted above from his work on

slavery, *feigns* himself rather in a state of doubt and uncertainty, respecting the wisdom of the plan, until he read Mr. Gurney's letters, and now, behold *he is all abolitionist*. He can doubt no longer. He is forced to the conclusion. Britain, slave-holding, slave-trading, tyrannical, overbearing Britain, that made clear profits in a few short years, of at least four hundred millions of dollars, by the slave trade, and built up thereby, at the expense of humanity, and the safety of the South, her *empire* in Hindostan, has immortalized herself by emancipating West India slaves, at an expense of a few millions of dollars. But if "these matters were *violating rights*, and they could be 'no property' from the beginning, and God's word is against this worst of evils," and "heaven denounces," and "hell is the reward of it," &c. as Dr. C. says, how—how came it to be so glorious an act, for that mistress of tyrants to pay their masters for them? Behold, Dr. C. has just found *out* what before he had condemned in the abolitionists, that this subject of a direct, immediate emancipation of three millions of slaves, to take possession of the lands and homes of their masters, and by being raised at once to the possession and exercise of equal laws and equal privileges, force them from the very country, "for which our fathers fought and bled and died," is the true plan. "I ought not," says Dr. C. "to be accused of wishing to give a political aspect to the anti-slavery cause." "I am very unwilling that it should take the form of a struggle for office and power. Still it has particular relations, and of these I shall speak with perfect freedom. The topic is an exciting one, but as I look at it with perfect calmness, I hope I shall not disturb the minds of others." This is exceeding kind indeed. "I do not wish to give it this turn, I am unwilling it should take this form," &c. "Still it has its political relations." I will discuss them but I shall not be abusive and excited as *most abolitionists are*. "I look at it with perfect calmness." "I hope I shall not disturb the minds of others." In other words doctor, you will cry peace, you will quiet the troubled waters, you will hush all opposition, and by *sweetening the bitter pill*, will persuade, till it is swallowed by at least all the friends of the South, in the North, and

then let the South arouse and find themselves on a volcano, whose thunders you have waked, and whose hellish fires you have helped to kindle. This is calmness is it?

To carry out these his designs, Dr. C. makes his quotations from Mr. Gurney's letters, on which he comments and sets forth for public denunciation "the base master," as fattening on the labour of his slaves, in "violation of all rights," "and the unconcern of human nature, for that oppressed slave, as well as the master's iniquity." Southerners are abused, as yielding to "this base doctrine," involving "the sacrifice of rights" "the dearest and most sacred." The paralysing effects of slavery on a master reclining on an ottoman or sofa, are pointed out, as also the superiority of European freedom over that of American; northern and southern christians, (especially the **METHODISTS**,) and ALL but the merciful, the kind-hearted, and benevolent abolitionists, are handled by the doctor without gloves. Woman herself is exhorted, *Amazon like*, zealously to engage in mighty contest against the South. The consciences of southerners, the patriotism and holy religion of northerners, the guilt of delay, the glory of immediate victory, and pride, and prejudice, ambition, earth, heaven—all, all, are appealed to, to effect that mighty change, by an emancipation, immediate and direct, such as England has effected in the West India islands. And all and every part of this morsel of abolitionism, is published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, Nassau street, in New York, to be sent forth from thence, by thousands, and circulated to inflame the minds, and excite to insurrection the slaves of the South. So much then for the "*coolness*" and *Stoical* calmness of Dr. Channing, and his discussion of "the political relations" of this subject—one, gotten up by those who seem determined never to stop, until the slave shall be forced to the performance of deeds which must wake up the slave states, that like lions, though they now sleep, when waked up, shall make this nation feel that we have not entered into the federal compact to have our rights, our feelings, our interests, our business, and our safety all insulted, violated and interfered with, by those who never have

had, and never will have committed to them, the right of interference in our internal concerns.

The other pamphlet of Dr. Channing purports to be a letter addressed to the Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, on the annexation of Texas to the United States. As we propose at another place to consider this pamphlet, we pass it over now, only remarking that it contains further evidence of Dr. Channing's hostility to the South—of his connection with the abolitionists, as one of their chiefs or champions, and of a fact, at which the learned doctor at first shuddered, and which he denounced—that is, that abolitionism should become “political.” Now he becomes a most conspicuous **ABOLITION POLITICIAN**, and all the South is denounced, as guilty of acts the most atrocious that ever were committed, not so much for the following reasons: The indirectly assisting the Texans (a band of villains as they are virtually called by Dr. C.) to procure their freedom from Mexican tyranny and bondage: the acknowledgment of the independence of such lawless marauders—the encouragement given to its settlement by southern cotton and sugar growers, and that its union with the United States would, as he thinks, be *unconstitutional*, and calculated to extend the power of the South; but *especially*, because it will be extending slavery, or rather, to use the language of Dr. Channing, then “all the islands of the Archipelago will have cause to dread our power, but none so much as the *emancipated*,” and wars “having for their object the subjugation of the coloured race, and the destruction of this tempting example of freedom.”

To annex Texas, “slavery will be,” says the doctor, “perpetuated in the old states, as well as spread over new.” “It is by slave-trading and slave-selling that these states subsist. Take away a foreign market and slavery will die,” “and the single consideration, that one human being is placed powerless and defenceless in the hands of another, to be driven to whatever labour that other may impose, &c.—is most hostile to the dignity, self-respect, improvement, rights and happiness of human beings.” “In so doing, we cut ourselves off from the communion of the nations, we sink below the civili-

zation of the age, we invite the scorn, indignation and abhorrence of the world." Such are the remarks of Dr. C. which we now barely quote, to show the determined hostility to all the interest and safety of the slave-holding states, that exists in his mind, and those of abolitionists in general.

The plan of Great Britain, with the exception of remuneration to the master, for the loss of his servants, is the plan of Dr. C. and his abolition brethren, only it *must be immediate and direct*. Direct, immediate, (unconditional as it respects the master,) *unconditional and universal emancipation*, here in our midst, on our land, to possess our homes, our rights, our privileges, our country, *virtually* our all—yes, reader! I will show you after a while, and from Dr. Channing too, our sons, our daughters, if not, and this perhaps would please some better than all, that negroes, putting us out of the way, shall possess our wives, as well as our homes. We tremble whilst we pen these sentences. We are driven to do so, by that most fatal of all sorts of fanaticism in this country, abolitionism. The waters of the old Potomac and those of the Chesapeake, have never yet been stained with the blood of our brothers. This country has never yet been disgraced by a civil war. We pray God it never may! and especially one stirred up by, and mixed with a servile insurrection. But let us tell our brethren of every free state in this union, if they continue to press this matter and occasion what must inevitably ensue, a union of vile white men with slaves, to accomplish their ends! the coloured race now in America will be blotted out from the face of the earth, *at one fell stroke*. Every mother and every daughter, as well as every son and every father, will handle the instruments of death. The flesh of the slave population will be given to the fowls of heaven for food, and on the shores of the rivers and bays, and along the coasts, will every inhabitant stand, a watchman for his own life, saying **TO ALL THE EARTH**, "thus far shalt thou come and no farther."

But it becomes us to assign our reasons, why the language we use is strong, a language now spoken in Maryland, Virginia and all the South. We have read and

marked what Dr. Channing has said, and we make a quotation or two, to show, that he only speaks the language of his abolition *associates*. In the report of this very anti-slavery society, for whom Dr. C. writes, and who have *stereotyped* his inflammatory and insurrectionary writings, we read "it is time the friends of freedom had awakened from their disgraceful slumbers. The truth is and it must not be suppressed, we have been *hired* to abet oppression, to be the tools of tyrants, to look on coolly whilst two millions of our brethren have been stripped of every right, and *worse than murdered*. Solemnly we say and we *stake all on the pledge* that there is not wealth enough in the universe any longer to *buy our acquiescence*, in this base and abominable *subserviency*." "We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which that of our *fathers* is *incomplete*, and which for its magnitude, solemnity and probable *results* upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physical force."

So then abolitionism, inducing a violation of the federal constitution made by our fathers, producing a servile war, being a work that far transcends the independence of our country, the work of our fathers, is to be carried on and carried out any how, and this anti-slavery society is solemnly bound for it. To use their own words "solemnly we say and stake our all on the pledge, that there is not wealth enough in the universe, any longer to buy our acquiescence, in this base and abominable *subserviency*." We maintain "that the highest obligations," mark this reader! "highest obligations rest upon the people of the free states, to remove slavery by *moral* and *political action*." Why? they say "our relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger, and *must be broken up*." "To bring the whole nation to this we shall spare no exertions nor *means*." "We may be *personally defeated*; but our principles never." And to pretty nearly the same effect are the remarks of Judge Jay, "within the last two years," says that gentleman, "the abolition societies have been partially *SUCCEEDED* by *more sturdy associations*, named *anti-slavery societies*, which instead of quailing beneath the frowns of their foe! have dared to

grapple with him in mortal conflict, and to stake the hopes of freedom on the issue." Again it is recommended that Congress "commence the work of emancipation by *immediately abolishing* slavery within the *District of Columbia*." For "all the laws which are now in force, admitting the rights of slavery are, before God, **NULL AND VOID**," say they.

We wish our readers to be convinced that direct, immediate emancipation (*unconditional as it regards the master,*) is the object of these men, and that England insolently dares to unite with them and thus subtilely to attack and seek to divide us. Hear Mr. Buckingham, a member of Parliament: "The greater proportion of the people of England demand not merely emancipation, but the immediate emancipation of the slaves in whatever quarter of the world they may be found." And so O'Connell, the notorious disorganizer, Daniel O'Connell, who dared to abuse our Washington, the father of his country. "The West Indies," says this slanderer of Washington, "the West Indies will be obliged to grant emancipation, and *then we will turn to AMERICA, and REQUIRE EMANCIPATION.*" This is the man who *retained* by his country's oppressors, spoke in a large assembly and wrote and printed this morsel too, "when an American comes into society he will be asked, 'are you one of the THIEVES, or are you an honest man? If you are an honest man then you have given liberty to your slaves; if you are among the THIEVES the sooner you take the outside of the house the better.'" We repeat, this is the man retained by the oppressors of Ireland for £ 20,000 per annum.

Having now finished what quotations we designed to make, to prove that the true and avowed object of Dr. Channing and Judge Jay, the American abolitionists, and the English anti-slavery associations, with O'Connell and the *peddling lecturer*, Mr. Buckingham, at their head, all look to and claim direct and immediate emancipation, here, in our midst. The unreasonableness of this we now propose to show, by considering abolitionism as fraught with consequences so repulsive and tremendous, as to leave no doubt on the minds of considerate chris-

tians and philanthropists as to the injustice and impolicy of such a course, as well as the immense extent of that injury, which must accrue to the slaves and also to their masters. Two distinct objects are virtually avowed in the foregoing quotations, and are indeed inculcated in all the writings of the abolitionists. The first is to emancipate immediately and directly the slave population, and the second is to raise them to an equality, in every respect, with the white population of the country, to an equality, as it regards civil, social and *all* other privileges. Whatever means may have been pointed out in the commencement by abolitionists to accomplish this end, subsequent events have proved, that they look to *all* the associations and connexions of human life with the whites, as a right which ought, indeed must be granted to the negroes.

In order to carry out this, we find associated bodies, societies, and whole communities, uniting in the north, in the passage of various resolutions, to put down, what they call *a prejudice* against the negro, and various legislative bodies seeking to interfere in the question of slavery and to legalize, by law, marriages between the white and coloured races. To this, so far as they and their daughters and sisters are concerned, we of the south have no right to object; but we have been often forced to ask what is the matter? Legislators seem so deeply concerned on this, apparently, *to them*, very interesting subject. As it respects the south we demur, notwithstanding the slander of abolitionists. The allusion made by Dr. Channing, to a *spurious amalgamation*, is as heartless as it is vile. We do not even admit, what those who write against abolitionism at the north, seem so ready to charge that a concubinage or illicit connexion, with female slaves, grows up as one of the evils of slavery. We believe no such thing. We simply believe that wherever man exists in his fallen and depraved state, whilst a slave of passion, and unregenerate, in any part of the earth, there will be *whores* and *whore-mongers*, *fornicators*, *adulterers*, and *adulteresses*, without regard to colour or consequences. We have known some who came from the north to the south, and under promises of freeing and taking off, and

making wives of coloured women, seduce in one year, in this way some four or five. At last consequences ensued, which began to expose them, and immediately they were off. On the other hand we have heard of southerners deceiving northern white girls, and we have known both northerners and southerners to seduce white females in the south. We have also been informed, and from sources to be depended on, that in Philadelphia, New York, Boston and other cities, and also in villages and neighbourhoods, it is common to have houses set apart, and kept up for common prostitutes; near some of them we have seen *carriages*, which took married gentlemen, standing in broad day-time; those houses *were represented* to us, as places of *ill-fame*. It is said that incontinent married ladies, sometimes resort thither *at night*. Shall we therefore conclude, that all the north is of the same character? There are comparatively but few such examples south; although Dr. Channing says there "the coloured woman is forcibly given up to unbridled lust," and that "the violations of domestic rights and charities are all revealed." And what more? Why this is the origin of that "spurious sort of amalgamation which is going on between the two races," and will according to abolition doctrines, justify that union between them by marriage, which is the only ground upon which safety could ever be expected to either.

It is on this point that our subsequent remarks in this chapter are designed to bear. The *outrageous* proposition to accomplish the ends of these abolitionists or anti-slavery men, is set forth in their first annual report, page 59. "Let it be the glory of *our sons* and *DAUGHTERS*, to have been educated in seminaries, which were open to worthy applicants, *without regard to complexion*, that the next generation may be disenthralled, from *these narrow and despicable* prejudices, which have trammelled the present." This then is the purpose, and the plan too, by which they are to become one with the whites. If their unnatural objects can be attained, the next generation, as that learned and popular professor and author, Dr. Reese of New York, has suggested in reply to this very point, "will have potent, yea, omnipotent reasons for be-

ing 'disenthralled;' for we should then be a nation of **MULATTOES** and **MONGRELS.**" There is no execration too great for such vile enthusiasts. And because they see and know that intermarriage, is the only possible way, in which two distinct races can become one nation, this subject has, from the beginning, been broached by them, and is at last openly avowed, not by *common* abolitionists only, but *virtually*, as in the very nature of their plan, by Dr. Channing and Judge Jay. We resist it then, because this union is most repulsive to all the feelings of the whites. The fact that no white person ever did consent to marry a negro, without having previously forfeited all character with the whites, and that, even profigate sexual intercourse, between the sexes, every where meets with the execration of the respectable and virtuous among them, as the most despicable form of licentiousness, is of itself, an irrefragable proof, that *equality* in any respect, in this country, is neither *practicable nor desirable*. Criminal amalgamation may, and does exist, among the most degraded of the species, but Americans will never yield the sanctions of law and religion, to an equality so incongruous and unnatural. There is a line of demarcation, broad, deep, and impassable. The God of nature has drawn it, and it will be kept up. That strong universal repugnance to an obliteration of it, is but a striking indication of the divine intentions respecting the same.

Fanaticism, as one has said, may call this "unchristian prejudice," and suppose that the power of religion will overcome it as it overcomes infidelity. It may argue that God has "made all men of one flesh," and of christianity, as opening its arms alike to all, in brotherly love. But whilst we admit that God "made all men of one flesh," we deny that he did design all men to live in the same country, and, notwithstanding their diversities, to mix and incorporate. With respect to the African, we find that "the temperature of his blood, the chemical action of his skin, and the very texture of his wool-like hair, fit him for the vertical sun of Africa. And if every surviving African, living in other lands, for which he never was intended, was restored to Africa, or left on

the shores of America, and exalted to the highest earthly condition, it would not remove those feelings of repulsion, felt in the white woman to any social union with him.

It does not matter with the white man, how happy the negroes are, and whether they are happy on this or the other side of the Atlantic. In christian love he is ready to acknowledge them as brothers, glory in their enlightenment, and rejoice in their happiness. But it does matter, when you talk of keeping them here as freemen in our midst, to become the owners of our soil, the husbands and wives of our daughters and sons, and the companions of ourselves and our wives. Such an incorporation is indeed *morally* impossible. We should remember that the whites are too numerous in both sexes, to be driven to intermarriage, with a race so distinctly separated from ours. The distinction in the United States is chiefly white or black, with little intervening shades of colour. The races do not, and never can incorporate. Try the loudest advocates of the *vincibility* of this prejudice with this touch-stone. Here is a young negress, make her the wife of your son. Give your daughter to be married, your lovely and accomplished daughter, to a broad-footed, flat-nosed, coal-black, curly-headed, strong-scented negro. What say you, my abolition friend? What say you, Dr. Channing? What say you, Judge Jay? Bring forward your son! Out with your daughter, and either shall have an Angola negro before night! Ah! this "is all unchristian prejudice," is it? Do pray, gentlemen, do not demur. In one of your anti-slavery reports we read, "There is *no way* to destroy the prejudices, which lay at the foundation of slavery, but to unite our coloured brethren to a participation with us, in all *those happy and elevating institutions, which are open to others.*" To be sure, marriage is one of those happy and elevating institutions which are open to others. A man by it may elevate a woman, and so woman, often, as *did Queen Victoria Prince Albert*, elevates the man of comparatively low degree. Let then your sons, and daughters, and sisters, get about this "*great work*," for we are told by abolitionists, "we must use all our efforts to raise the coloured man." This amalgamation will split the differ-

ence, and make "the second generation neither black nor white, but *all, mulattoes.*"

We are further told that "it is indispensable" "that we unite our coloured brethren, to a participation with us," "to *all* our social, religious and political privileges," and surely marriage comes under some one of these heads. We repeat the remark, gentlemen do not demur! Ladies come on! If there be among you any widows, or widowers, or bachelors, or maids, *old* or *young*, or if you have sons or daughters, come on, bring them forth, you are bound by your doctrine "to use *every* effort to raise and elevate *the coloured brethren to a participation*" with you "in all *those happy and elevating institutions, which are open to others.*" For ourselves, really, gentlemen and ladies, we must tell you plainly, you have BETTER STOMACHS than we southerners. However we have nothing to do with *this*, we are willing that you take and elevate as *partners* *all* our free negroes and slaves too, if you will *pay* for them; *provided* you walk off to the vicinity of Dr. Channing; and we especially encourage you to do this, as "old Massachusetts that threw the British tea overboard, and thus struck the first blow to British tyranny in America," designs a *special* act for your benefit, to *legalize* all your marriages.

But let it be remembered, that in the south, amalgamation will never be *legalized*, that thus the negro may be "elevated," and the white man abased. To us there is something too repulsive in it. Not only repulsive because "slavery and freedom are extremes," as some contend, but because, however a negro may become enlightened by education, and be saved from sin by gospel grace, and be under the power of its religion, God has drawn the line of distinction, and beyond it nature cannot consent to pass, and make such an one a partner for life. Passion may seek present gratification, *in union with a beast*, and many men are swayed by passion only, hence the law of the Old Testament and of civilized nations, punishing the polluted wretch "that lies with a beast." So passion may seek in moments, when it is uncontrolled, a present gratification with the negress; but the southern white man's soul, if *he have soul at all*, repels

in itself, and abhors the thought, of taking to his bosom as a wife, a thick-lipped, flat-nosed, red-eyed, curly-headed, flat-footed wench, whose very smell is repulsive. Still, as we before said, we do not object to such an *union* among our *northern brethren* and *sisters*, if they choose to have it thus, and especially so, as the law of Massachusetts comes in to help them out. We have heard in old Virginia a saying. Do, abolition brethren, pardon us for quoting it! “Every man” (*and woman too I suppose,*) “to his liking, as the old lady said, when she kissed the cow.”

But to be serious, “that two distinct races of people nearly equal in numbers,” but unlike in colour, manners, habits, feelings and state of civilization, to such a degree that amalgamation is impossible, cannot dwell together in the same community, unless the one be subject to the other, is most apparent. Whilst the exaltation of the coloured race as just spoken of is brought about, it does not matter by what means, the accomplishment of the thing itself is identically the same. The dangerous tendency of such efforts must be manifest to all, when they look at the issue to which they must most certainly come. Nothing is better attested, as already noticed, in history, than the fact, that there can be no union and harmony in any country where there is a rival power, that is not subordinate to the one ruling, or attempting to rule. The time was when the church claimed to be independent of the throne, and especially so in England. What was the result? All know that incessant contention was produced by it. Hence there was in the government *virtually* no individuality. There can be no security, unless there is the conviction of durability, in any government, and there can be no durability, where an incessant watch is to be kept up to countervail the power of those who would upturn, for their own aggrandizement, any government, *however* stable.

So long as the Moors possessed a part of Spain, there was an incessant struggle. Why was it so? The Moors were most certainly subjected to the power of the Spanish monarchy. True! But the lines of distinction were so marked, that there could be no safety whilst they pos-

sesed either liberty or power, in Europe. Hence to Africa it was deliberately determined they should go, and to Africa they were *driven*; the end is well known. Since then, so far as Moors and Spaniards are concerned, what is now called Spain proper, has been at rest. And at this day the aborigines of America, North and South, and the French and Spanish inhabitants of Florida formerly, and the British and French inhabitants of Canada, are all of them most palpable illustrations of the truth, that any distinct line of separation must have the tendency to prevent amalgamation itself, and when there is a rival power and interest, it is equally, if not far more difficult to overcome it. The Indian must be free and roam at will. The white man dreads his power, and both *war* for that soil, which each claims. The stronger must and does prevail. Nothing can stop him. He takes as the motto and watch-word of safety, that of the old Roman, "*Carthago delenda est*," and the red man wastes before him, as the snows at the approach of spring, on his own extensive and native mountains. For the same reason, the cold-hearted, calculating, trading Briton, looks with suspicion and jealousy, on the lively, vivacious Frenchman of Canada, and in his soul purposes that he shall one day or other bow and lick the dust. On the other hand, the Frenchman only waits a proper time, to strike his blow.

Two judicious gentlemen, not long since, when on a visit to the United States from Canada, gentlemen who are extensively acquainted there, informed us, that although there is the same colour, virtually the same laws and privileges, yet is there that *deadly hate* existing between the French and English, which was equalled in Canada only by that of the Moors and Spaniards, or that of Rome and Carthage. There being no oneness of interest, and no unanimity of sentiment and feeling, there cannot certainly be unity of effort for general good, or for the support of that government, which grants special privileges to some, to the exception, and at the expense of others.

If foreigners be brought in, as is the case in the United States, and be grafted on the parent stock, being indeed

the same race, and coalescing by marriage, they become so amalgamated as soon to exist only as one people. But where there are insuperable obstacles, and a repulsion of feeling, as in the case of the African, or a separate and distinct interest and language, all which occasion an eternal rivalship, it is evident there can be no union. For a foreign mass in the midst of a nation, with which they cannot unite, is as a dead limb on a green tree, it injures that tree, and is not itself benefited. Is not this the case with thousands of Indians, in the various states, where they remain under the constraints of the white man's laws, and yet are neither improved or benefited thereby. Look how long the Six Nations, and the Sandusky Indians, and the Choctaws of Mississippi, and others did remain within the borders of several states, surrounded with all the benefits of civilization; and yet were uncivilized, and not amalgamated with the white population. Look at the Indians on the Pamunky and Matopony rivers of Virginia, who, notwithstanding the example set by the *excellent Mr. Rolfe*, and the *lovely Pocahontas*, who were united in marriage, to this day remain a handful, gradually wasting away, and hardly a monument sufficient to bring to memory the renowned and benevolent Powhatan, or the brave but cruel Opechancanough.

Look at the Jews, driven from Rome, forced out of Greece, and again and again from all the East. Near two hundred thousand at one time were expelled from Spain. Driven from France, slaughtered in London and other cities of England, refusing to let their sons and daughters amalgamate, by marriage, with others, they remain a separate and distinct nation, accursed by heaven and earth, as "having crucified the Lord of life and glory." Whilst the Ottoman is enriched by his traffic, he abhors the Jew, who puts his mark of reprobation *also* on him.

It is to us a most astonishing thing, that men can suppose that there can be such a union, without a similarity of feeling, of interest and of language. The Jew may buy and so may the Turk, and use as concubines girls *called* christians, but they will not exalt them to the condition of wives. The white man may, in a similar way,

seduce, to gratify his passions, a coloured girl, but he will never exalt her to be his wife, any more than would a Jew the daughter of a Turk, or that of a christian; or an Indian, who repels with indignation the idea, of marriage with a negress, as repulsive, *truly* as much so to his savage heart and feelings as to those of the most refined associates of the learned Dr. Channing, or the Hon. Mr. Jay. How then could it be expected that a union should take place between two races, the one white, the other black, the one civilized, refined, wealthy and perfectly independent in all its feelings and views—the other but just emancipated, poor, ignorant, servile in all its dispositions and movements, and ready to act and accomplish great things, only as directed by the wisdom and advice of others. In such a state of society, laws for the comfort, convenience and protection of the one, would be but an insult, a source of affliction and disgrace to the other, because in the very nature of things, there could be no ONENESS in such a state or country. But as it now is, the master is protected, and his servant's welfare is also connected with, and guarded through that master, just as protection is afforded by the same law, to the master's wife, child and person. So then when one part of a community is virtually in subjection to the other, not by mere brute force, but by the force of circumstances, where subjection has its origin in "the natural subordination of the weak, the ignorant and uncivilized, to those that are the reverse, there may be, yea all history, and the condition of every man's family, proves that there must be an union and harmony, of both interest and feeling; and as the master becomes the servant's protector and faithful representative, his condition not permitting him to represent himself, that servant becomes his master's friend, and glories in abiding by his exaltation or downfall, at the hazard of his life. Servants *are proud* of such a master. They delight to watch over and nurse his wife, his children, and those children in their turn, often reward that kindness by freedom from toil, confidence unlimited, and on those servants, when their parents are in the dust, they often implicitly rely for advice, most cheerfully submitting to their reproofs, as well as to their teachings.

We never can forget that when our own helpless mother could not nurse us and an only brother, it was faithfully done by a coloured woman, whom to this day we delight to call "MAMMY." The husband and children of such a woman are, under such circumstances, generally dear to a whole family. From that husband the master and his children often seek advice in most of the business operations of their lives. But these children could never raise the offspring of the coloured man to a participation with them, of the social privileges of life. They could not make them their wives and their husbands.

That our position is a correct one we are sure; and that any sudden exaltation of slaves, or any deliverance, other than one which is gradual, and almost imperceptible, is ruinous in its consequences. We have a case specially in point. The Israelites are in bondage in Egypt. They are there gradually prepared for their transit from that state of bondage, to the condition of freemen. And yet the journey from Egypt must be at least forty years long, until, by absolute want and dependance, they are trained and prepared for their residence in the promised land; and even after that, the "iron rod" by their kings, and a second captivity, in Babylon, could hardly prepare them for self-government. But novices in political economy, would have us turn loose three millions of slaves, unprepared for such a direct and immediate transition from a state of bondage to that of freedom, and ennable them to be our equals—the wives and husbands of our children, and the owners of our property. The son of a freed man in Rome, because of his being of the same colour with its inhabitants, might become a citizen; but here is a separating line which we did not draw. God has done it. And although it does by no means affect the moral standing of the parties interested, yet does it form a barrier, that no time can remove, between the white and coloured race. When one people are conquered and subjugated by another, there never can be a oneness, unless they become one, by marriage; otherwise there can be no harmonious blending of the two. If this be not done, it is extirpation, removal, or slavery, and perhaps both of the last named evils. If the Israelites, to

whom we have just alluded, had intermarried with the Egyptians, they would have become one people. But according to their patriarchal precepts, about circumcision and other rites on the one hand, and the fact that Egyptians considered themselves polluted by associations with foreigners, on the other, they did not unite. In time, although they actually out numbered their masters, the Israelites as we have seen, were the most abject slaves, being reduced not only to toil; but removed, *often* from one part of that ancient empire to another, they were forced to erect for their masters the pyramids and labyrinths, those vast works, which seem almost destined to survive the waste of old time itself. To accomplish which, Pharaoh "set over them task-masters." But when free they do not demand even the country of Goshen, originally given to their father Jacob, and brother Joseph, much less to be raised to equal rights and privileges with any Egyptian. They most cheerfully gather about them their families and go to dwell in the land given to their fathers.

When the abolitionists will unite with the Colonization Society, to bear off these sons of Africa also, to their fatherland, they will find, as they may now see, if they will see at all, all the South ready to insure that their removal shall be accomplished in at least "forty years." There could have been no harmony between the Egyptians and Israelites, in that land of their captivity, much less could they all have, and there exercise, equal rights and privileges. And so also, when the Israelites entered the land of Canaan, the condition of its inhabitants was *death or slavery*. If asked why? we answer, for the simple reason that there could be no amalgamation by marriage. The two nations were so far asunder, in their mental, moral, and political condition, that the inequality was too great to admit a union, and hence there could be none. We know that this was the reason.

It is declared in Scripture that Ruth, a Moabitish girl, and her sister, married Israelitish youths, which might be done, when there were those moral and other qualifications, which would produce a union. Nor is there any objection that can be drawn from this against our theory.

It is said God commanded all this? So much the better! Infinite wisdom has given us an example, which it behooves us to imitate; and we are glad to know that in the divine proceeding in this case, there was no infringement of the law and constitution of our nature. So far from this, his dispensations are most evidently accommodated to our nature. The feelings of pleasure or repulsion, are those which he has himself implanted in us. We dare not deal lightly by them; if we do, marriage itself would ultimately be null and void—it would produce a hell upon earth, and the married life would be but “the same sad tale of Rachel and Leah to the end of all time.”

If we look at the Saxon government in England, we shall find that it originated in this very principle. The ancient Britons called in the Saxons to their help. In appearance, religion, &c. they were about equal. After they had aided the Britons in effecting their deliverance from the Picts and Scots, they turned about to obtain their pay, by depredations on their employers. What was the result? War upon war, blood, carnage and death, until a remnant of Britons find themselves in the mountains of Wales, deprived of their country, and their all. Mortal hatred prevented an amalgamation by marriage, as it now does in France between the Jews and French, and as it did formerly among the Jews and Canaanites, and the Moors and Spaniards. This will be the result, no matter in what the difference and distinctness may arise, whether in natural repulsion, political, moral, or indeed even “imaginary considerations,” as some abolitionists say, it is all one—the end is subjection or death, perhaps both. One must yield; both cannot rule, unless they could become one by marriage. *This is impossible.* It was so between England and Scotland, though the latter was over-run by the former several times, yet till they were almost destroyed, they would not yield. Amalgamation might have done it at once. Hatred prevented. It is so now with the Christian and Turk.

We have alluded to the Indians. Look at them in Pennsylvania. Long did they dwell side by side together with the white man; but there was no intermarriage, they never became one. Mutual fears often existed, and

finally the entire removal of one was absolutely necessary to the existence and safety of the other. And there was such mortal opposition in New England, to becoming one by marriage, the only way of permanent union, that the poor Indians found themselves involved in incessant wars, with the pilgrims, at least with the sons of the pilgrims, until they wasted away and are gone, through a war, in which the choice was *slavery or death*. And the Indians in New England were consumed, as the ice in their lakes before the summer sun.

There was no repulsion in the feelings of the Virginian, Rolfe, before named, to the beautiful Pocahontas, but his example was not followed, because there were but few prepared in her father's house, or father's tribe, to become the associates of civilized man, and because it could not otherwise be so; because they did not become one by marriage, the result is a lamentable one indeed—the Indian when he has been *permitted* to live, which has generally been the case in the South, has passed from place to place, still penetrating the thick dark wilderness in quest of game, flying before the progress of civilization, and making room for those with whom he could not become one. Now seated on the west side of the Mississippi, he stands a living monument of the truth of this theory—that there must be amalgamation to be union. At this day who will condemn the beautiful English girl of London, for marrying the pious and eloquent Indian chief, and christian minister, Peter Jones, whom she so ardently loved, as to leave her country and friends, and all. By him this accomplished lady now has one or two fine interesting little children, as had Pocahontas, "of blessed memory," by Mr. Rolfe, the progenitors of some of the first families in Virginia. And would any among us now blame a young man for marrying one of those lovely *young nymphs* of the forest, one of the virtuous daughters of the red man, civilized and raised to be an "helpmate meet for him?" O no! O no! But let me ask what you would say if such an one should marry a negress? Have you no feeling on this subject? Is there no repulsion? We wish we knew whether Dr. C. is married or single; if the latter be his miserable

lot, we would put such questions to him directly. It is said that "prejudice" originates these antipathies. We deny it. They are interwoven in our nature, and cannot be obliterated *even by passion*, unless we can unmake ourselves. Man is said to be, we know woman is, *a creature of longings and antipathies*, and until a white woman brings herself to be vile indeed, she cannot be reduced to become the willing mate of a *coal black* negro. We intend no insult to northern ladies; we believe this doctrine from the very bottom of our soul, and we are sure that we have the *ladies* on our side.

When Robert of England was supplanted by his brother Henry I., that young man, with a policy that did honour to his knowledge of human nature, immediately married Matilda, one of the royal Saxon line, by Edgar Atheling, and notwithstanding the claims of his elder brother, this act secured him both power and the throne. This being carried out by his subjects, ended the long and destructive contest, between Normans and Saxons. Thus also, Alexander, by a politic stroke in marrying Roxanna, the daughter of Darius, secured to himself the Persian throne. So also was it the case with the Sabines in Rome. The Romans having married their daughters, although they had one hundred senators, they actually lost their name, and by that very amalgamation, the two became one people, under the general name of Roman. So that, what William Duke of Normandy could not complete, when he *conquered*, as it is said, England, nor the Sabines and Romans, as men, was done at once through the instrumentality of woman, in the very natural and appropriate way of the Bible—"they shall no longer be twain but one flesh." We presume this is the reason why abolitionists are such great sticklers for amalgamation, *any how*. They know that no power can make us one with the negro, in the same land, but that of marriage, and therefore we hear from them—"Let it be the glory of our sons and daughters, to have been educated in seminaries which were open to worthy applicants, without regard to complexion, that the next generation may be disenthralled from those *narrow and despicable prejudices* which have *trammelled* the present." This is the abolition doctrine,

and it is founded in nature. Without amalgamation, we cannot become one people. They see it, they know it. They do not, we suppose, desire it themselves—*perhaps they do*—they however, it is certain, wish to force it on us, by insisting that we turn our slaves loose in the land of our fathers, and raise them to an equality, social, moral and political, with ourselves, or they wish to force us, as one has said, into “the very crater of a volcano.” This is the tendency of their doctrine. When Gaul was over-run by the politic Clovis, to secure himself in his power, he first married Clotilda, the daughter of one of the native princes, professed Christianity through her instrumentality, and exalted the native Gauls to be the bishops of their church. For the same reason also, Alaric married the sister of Honorius, and thus entered into treaty with him. The policy of all the barbarian conquerors of that time, was to amalgamate with the conquered nations, and of that act the languages of Europe at this day are a living monument.

In the preceding part of this book we have quoted, repeatedly, portions from a work entitled *Domestic Slavery*, by our *valued* friend, John L. Carey, M. A. lately of Dickinson College, and now editor of the *Baltimore American*. We hereby recommend it to the perusal of every individual, who may desire a fair and an intelligent exposition of this subject, in connection with the great and interesting question of colonization. We cannot, however, forbear quoting *verbatim*, Mr. Carey on the destruction of the whites, by the blacks in the island of St. Domingo. And as we shall allude hereafter to the present state of that island, we take great pleasure in laying before our readers, the most excellent remarks of our kind friend, to whom the South is greatly indebted for his defence of its principles, and the more so as Mr. C. is from one of the free states, a man that looks at truth as truth, and is to be turned from those convictions produced by its power, by no man, or set of men, or sectional or party considerations. Let then the reader, and especially let the southerner, if he be the reader, hear attentively what Mr. C. says: “I know not that there is any need of dwelling longer on this topic. There is,

however, one other illustration, which might have been brought forth in the list of these examples of nations that were too far dissociated ever to unite, and who of consequence could not participate together in political matters. It may, however, be none the worse for coming in here, inasmuch as it is especially applicable, more than any other example in history, to our particular concerns: the parties being similar to those that now occupy the southern portion of this country, viz. whites and blacks. An advocate of the abolition doctrines thus speaks, in referring to the disturbances of St. Domingo, 'The apologists of slavery are constantly telling abolitionists of the 'Scenes of St. Domingo.' Were the public familiar with the origin and history of those scenes, none but abolitionists would dare to refer to them.' I give the origin and history in the words of this writer. In 1790, the population of the French part of St. Domingo was estimated at 686,000. Of this number 42,000 were whites, 44,000 free people of colour, and 600,000 slaves. At the commencement of the French revolution the free coloured people petitioned the National Assembly to be admitted to political rights, and sent a deputation to Paris to attend to their interests. On the 8th of March, 1790, a law was passed granting to the colonies the right of holding representative assemblies, and of exercising to a certain extent legislative authority. On the 28th of the same month, another law was passed, declaring that all free persons in the colonies, who were proprietors and residents of two years' standing, and who contributed to the exigencies of the state, should exercise the right of voting. The planters insisted that this law did not apply to free coloured persons. They proceeded to elect a General Assembly, and in this election the free blacks were, with but few exceptions, prevented from voting. The newly elected assembly issued a manifesto, declaring they would rather die than divide their political rights with 'a bastard and degenerated race.' A portion of the free coloured people resolved to maintain the rights given them by the mother country, and assembled in arms, under one of their number, named 'Oge.'

It is not my purpose to speculate concerning the merits

of this question, nor attempt an interpretation of the act of the French national assembly. It is enough to know that not any act of that assembly, or of any other legislative body, could have brought about a harmonious participation of political privileges between these parties. I believe it would not be easy to find a more complete illustration, than may be found here, of the proposition which I have been endeavoring to set forth. Here are two distinct races nearly equal in numbers; the whites amounting to 42,000, the free blacks to 44,000; they are disjoined by differences of colour, of blood, of condition; they are animated, the one towards the other, by all those feelings of antipathy which are natural to such dissimilitude. What makes it more adapted to our purpose, one class had been in a state of servitude to the other. Could a more exact picture be drawn of what would in all likelihood be our condition, if the mad attempt should be made of introducing negroes to an equality of political rights in some one of the cotton-growing states? Who does not see that the French population of St. Domingo were only following the natural instinct of self-preservation, in thus resisting all demands of the other race in the way of admittance to citizenship? Could they have harmonized together in the public councils? would their objects have been the same, or in any way parallel? from the vast body of six hundred thousand slaves would there have been no accessions to the free coloured party, which was already superior in number by two thousand? Or not the first act of legislation have been a decree of universal emancipation, when by such measure the question of predominance would have been settled at once? And what would have followed this, but the utter extermination of all who were of European origin? What does Mr. Jay mean, when he says, "If the public were familiar with the history and origin of those scenes, none but abolitionists would dare to refer to them?" Does he mean to applaud the efforts of the blacks in thus seizing upon what they deemed their rights? Does he regard the subsequent horrors and butcheries that closed this catastrophe, in the banishment or murder of a whole race, in the plunder of property, in the wildest rage of

licentious and bloody passions, does he regard all these as the fit awards of retributive justice? And are we to believe that he would behold with equal satisfaction a similar scene in this country? Why "none but abolitionists dare refer to them?" Is it from this picture of horrors that the abolitionists draw their elements of the sublime and beautiful in political morality? Can none but abolitionists dare refer to them, lest they be struck with terror at the apprehension of a like calamity at home? What means he? or what means he not? I wish he had not used such words. The negro slaves of the British West Indies have been emancipated, some on condition of serving out an apprenticeship; others, I believe, without such condition. In neither case have disturbances followed. It is usual to point to this example as a fact which overturns all theories concerning the ultimate fatal effects of emancipation in this country. There is nothing surprising in this, that a race naturally indolent, having few inducements to exertion, should sit down in repose after being released from extorted toil. They are not a people who can appreciate freedom, except as it affords exemption from labour: they have little of that inward ardour which springs from a consciousness of intellectual or moral power; which prompts to enterprise; which delights in activity; which pants after independence. The casting off of their fetters has not made them freemen, although it may be a step towards it. But in process of time, when the pleasures of indolence have been enjoyed to satiety, a spirit of activity may come into play. Gradually there may arise a better class among the blacks, who will possess property, and along with it a sense of self-respect, and a consciousness of new rights. They will claim to have a part in the public affairs; they will demand an equal participation in the rights of suffrage and of legislation. Then the contest will begin. Who may not see the issue of it? It requires not any great amount of prophetic vision to discern that at some period, how distant we know not, the scenes of St. Domingo will be re-acted on the plains of Jamaica. I look by the light of reason and experience. There may be, however, secondary causes at work of

which I am ignorant, that shall produce a different result. For example, amalgamation of colours may go on to such a degree, that the individuality of the European stock may be diffused throughout a hundred different complexions and shades, in such a manner as to be well nigh lost. In such case the ascendancy of the blacks may be peaceable. But every indication at present points to the final predominance of that colour. Whether it be effected by violence, or by a gradual course of amalgamation, must depend upon many circumstances. Or this result of things in their natural course may be anticipated. It would require not many of our modern philanthropists to bring about a speedier consummation. Let the ignorant negroes be indoctrinated with notions of the rights of man; let them be taught that all men are equal; that those who once held them in bondage, and who now reside among them in splendour, are their oppressors, proud aristocrats, who live upon other men's earnings; above all, let them be instructed to know, that by union and a concentration of their strength, they may enjoy the plunder of the whole land; that this will be nothing more than the reclaiming of their rightful property, and the restoring of things to their proper equality; let these doctrines be infused into depraved minds, to the arousing of dormant passions, giving stability, pretext, aim; the issue will be a thing not to be spoken of prophetically, but to be gazed upon with horror. I do not presume that any violent commotions would immediately follow an act of general emancipation in this country; that is, if foreign influences could be kept away. But the results of things are not less sure by being more distant. When the tendency is apparent, who need be in doubt concerning the end?

That I may not in any manner misrepresent the meaning of abolitionists, let me here quote again from Mr. Jay. After denying the charge of proposing to bring about amalgamation by means of intermarriages, he says, "But most true it is, that the Anti-slavery Society avows its intentions to labour for the civil and religious equality of the blacks. It has been found expedient to accuse it of aiming also at their social equality." This charge he

rejects, and proceeds to illustrate his meaning in this manner: "We all know white men whose characters and habits render them repulsive to us, and whom no consideration would induce us to admit into our social circles; and can it be believed, that abolitionists are willing to extend to negroes, merely on account of their colour, courtesies and indulgences which in innumerable instances, they withhold, and properly withhold, from their white fellow-citizens?" But who pretends that because a man is so disagreeable in his manners and person, that we refuse to associate with him, that, therefore, he ought to be denied the right of suffrage, the privilege of choosing his trade and profession, the opportunities of acquiring knowledge, and the liberty of pursuing his own happiness?" I need hardly remind you, of what I am sure you know well enough, that touching the subject of this discourse, I am not considering the blacks as individuals, but as a race. If they were but a handful scattered throughout the wide expanse of white population, a few here and a few there, what reasonable man would wish to debar them from the rights of citizenship? For they could then have no separate purposes of their own apart from the general interest; they could not act as a distinct body; their influence would be as nothing. But how different is the question which we are now considering! A large population equal in number to the whites, and in some states perhaps superior; prolific of increase; of a different blood and complexion; bound by no sympathy, but rather disposed (as they would be most certainly when raised to political equality,) to look with hatred and jealousy upon those who had once held them in bondage—a population like this to be introduced into an organized community for the purpose of taking part in its government—is this a small matter? How absurd is the distinction which this writer attempts to draw between political equality and social equality, granting the one and withholding the other! What is the end of political power except to secure social advantages? The first use of political predominance, will it not be to establish predominance in every thing?

There are indeed, in the bosom of every community,

'men whose characters and habits render them repulsive to us, and whom no consideration would induce us to admit into our social circles.' Let us suppose that this class becomes the most numerous in a state; that they are bound together by a common interest, by some sympathetic bond which excludes all minor differences, causing them to move together as one man; that they are inflamed with bitter animosity against the industrious, the intelligent, the wealthy, whom they stigmatize as aristocrats, monopolists, the oppressive class that grind the faces of the poor, or by any other opprobrious name. Will no dissensions arise in the state of society like this? Will these men, not admitted to social equality, but possessed of full political privileges, remain quiet and peaceable? Will they submit to that social superiority, and rest contented with their political rights? What would their political rights be, in their estimation, but a mere name, unless they were used to gain their favourite purposes? And what would those purposes be, but a complete overthrow of existing institutions, the subversion of all order, the violation of all rights?

Let any one look at the manner in which revolutions in governments are brought about, if he would see an illustration of this principle. In France, for example, the lower orders had taken little or no part in the public affairs. The nobility and the monarchy were the prominent powers in the constitution; and seeking their own aggrandizement, they had oppressed the people greatly, insomuch that all community of interests or feeling had been in a measure destroyed. A sense of common injury had united together the great mass of the nation; had concentrated their aims, had caused them to discover in the higher classes a common enemy. When political privileges were extended to the people by Louis XVI. and they were empowered to exercise the right of suffrage in choosing a national assembly, did they remain contented with this participation in the general affairs of the kingdom? Did they recognize the distinction which this writer has drawn between political and social equality? They did indeed make many new discoveries in politics and morals, but this appears to have escaped them in the

wildest frenzy of their madness. There are in this country different sects and religious denominations. They seem to move along harmoniously enough; they exercise political rights in common; and social communion is not interrupted. The reason is very obvious, inasmuch as no one sect has cause of dread from the interference of another. No one party claims to direct; all are parts of a whole, each in its sphere finds no obstacle from a neighbour. But if the whole country were divided into two great sects, whereof one was predominant, and exercised its influence in controlling the affairs of government, as would certainly be the case, how different then would be the state of things? One has need only to look into Burnet's history of his own times, to see such a condition fully set forth, in the accounts of what followed King Charles' attempt to introduce Episcopal church government in Scotland. What dissensions, what violence, what bitter animosity, what persecutions, what blood shed!

Let us not lose sight of the principle. If the black population, were few in number, and hence little disposed to aspire after the directing power, no harm would be likely to follow from their admission to political rights. They would then conform themselves to existing laws, and would desire nothing more. But when they assume the station of an equal power in the community, and of consequence, a rival power, for their aims and interests as a body could in no manner blend consistently with those of the constituted authorities, who does not see that the whole question is changed? The foregoing considerations, are such as would come naturally into the minds of most persons who would give themselves to reflect upon this subject. It would seem therefore, to be of little use thus to set them forth; and to insist upon propositions which *sensible men* would generally admit. But there is no presumption in saying that much delusion prevails concerning these things. It has been already alluded to. One class of well meaning persons, who believing that much injustice has been done towards the coloured people by holding them in slavery, are now in a hurry to recompense them, this one idea seems to have taken possession of their minds; they stop not to examine, to consider,

to provide. They view one part of the subject, and believe that to be the whole. They do not remember that the blacks who were brought to this country were slaves before, slaves to barbarous savages of their own colour; that so far from suffering loss, they were indeed gainers by the exchange; and were perhaps saved from death by their transportation hither."

Such are the sensible and judicious views of Mr. Carey. We wish that the plan which we have adopted, would admit of an insertion of all that he says on this point. We have repeatedly quoted from this excellent work on slavery, and take great pleasure in making here again, our public acknowledgment of the same. We invite all to read it, and we believe that they will there find an irrefutable answer to all Dr. Channing's positions, founded on the abstract principles of moral evil and natural rights. For ourselves, we are *forced* to the conclusion, that the remedy suggested as a cure for the evil of slavery, by the abolitionists, is not the proper one. That to turn loose thousands, indeed millions of slaves, and raise them, so soon as "they can feed or take care of themselves and their children," as Dr. Channing says, "to all our rights and privileges, social, moral, and political," would be to effect their destruction, if not that of their owners. The plain truth is, amalgamation being the only certain bond by which any two races of people can possibly be bound together, and it being so repulsive in itself to the whites, it never can take place to any extent. All history proves the truth of this statement, whether it be ancient or modern, and St. Domingo, Canada, and the Moors in Spain, as well as the present condition of many Indian tribes in the United States, are enduring monuments of the truth of this position. The present state of St. Domingo, and the emancipated negroes in the British West India islands, affords also the most glaring evidence of this fact. The planters of the last named have lately turned again to Africa, to procure labourers, as they cannot get the *freed negroes* to work—the letters of Mr. Gurney and comments of Dr. Channing to the contrary notwithstanding. The wealthy island of St. Domingo is reduced to one of comparative desolation. Formerly the richest—

now the poorest. Its once rich fields, that were clothed with coffee trees, and wildernesses of sugar cane, are now grown up in weeds, and the planters, the owners of the soil, in the British islands, must desert their homes, or find some other labourers than those, their former slaves, now turned loose by thousands but to prowl as wolves, and to devour their prey. What will abolitionists say to this? How expensive the plan to save themselves, and find labourers, by the transportation of Africans, to work for a specified time, to be brought directly from Africa itself? We can give no better description of the true condition of St. Domingo, than that we find in the late official report of a French naval officer on that station, respecting the present state of the island. He cannot be suspected of being unfriendly to them. This report is found in the National Intelligencer and the papers of the past week, which we subjoin. Those editors head their remarks thus: "*St. Domingo as it now is,*" and then add—“The following description of the present state of that island is from the pen of a French naval officer:”

“We embarked on board the frigate Nereide on the 24th December. On the 28th we were at Fort Royal, to receive orders from the admiral, who despatched us on the 29th to St. Domingo, where we were to take on board the five millions of francs which the consul-general had informed us were ready. We have been three days at anchor in this famous republic, and all that I can say to you of the misery of the people, will scarce suffice to give you any idea of it. I have been every where, and every where have seen nothing but degradation and corruption. Men in rags compose the army, and exhibit a most ludicrous military masquerade. Cavalry on foot manœuvre like horses, at the word of command, trot, gallop, &c. Both officers and soldiers are without shoes; one has spurs tied by a cord to his naked feet, another has made himself spurs, with a piece of iron driven into a wooden sole, tied to his foot, and one whole company which I inspected minutely, had not a single musket which would go off. The officers in rags, ask charity. Slothfulness, poverty in its most hideous form—and in the negro it is most hideous—alone meet your eye at the

town of Port au Prince. The fields are over-run by brambles, logwood trees, and the rapacious *lichens*, which obstruct the roads and destroy the old plantations. With the exception of a few gardens, which here and there are cultivated by the negroes—gardens far inferior to those of our worst slaves—there is no cultivation whatever. The only product of the island is coffee, and that every year diminishes so materially, that the time is not far distant when it will produce none at all. No more is planted, and the old coffee plantations are not even taken care of. The owners gather the crops from their own fields, in the midst of briars and weeds, no labourers being to be had—the one not being willing to work for the other. In 1791, the exports of this fertile island amounted to at least twenty-three millions of dollars, with a population of about 600,000. Alas what a change!—what a declension! At this time there are hardly products sufficient to sustain its inhabitants, in number but a little over one million, and its exports amount to very little. Without subordination, fast hastening back to a dark, uncivilized and barbarian state."

The editor of the Baltimore American speaks thus of the British West India islands: "We published a few days ago, an account of the present condition of Hayti, as described by an eye-witness. The picture was that of a country fast lapsing into the savage wildness of nature; while the appearance and conduct of the people, exhibited a mere caricature of civilization, in which the degradation produced by slothfulness and vice contrasted miserably with impotent pretences, at something like an organized state of society. The present condition and tendency of things in the British West India islands, augur a result no better there, under the emancipation act of the British parliament. It is to no purpose that the zealous friends of that policy labour in its vindication, by procuring and publishing the most favourable accounts, that partial, one-sided reports can exhibit, of the condition of those islands. Facts will speak for themselves, and in a manner not to be gainsayed. Instead of their former state of affluence and ease, the British islands now present a melancholy spectacle of discontent and daily

diminishing production. Various devices have been resorted to, for the purpose of procuring labourers, to supply the place of the emancipated negroes, who will not work. Emigration from England and Ireland has been encouraged, and a fund provided to aid the passage of all who could be induced to emigrate. Another plan was, to procure a large emigration of free coloured people from the United States; and the last project which we have seen any account of, contemplated a transfer of African labourers from Sierra Leone and the African coast—a sort of substitute for the slave trade. These expedients have been quite ineffectual thus far; the downward tendency of things has not been arrested; on the contrary, every year bears witness to the increasing embarrassments and distress of the British islands."

Here then is the condition to which abolitionists would reduce, by their fanatical excitements, the coloured population of our states. We may use here the eloquent language of a gentleman from the North, who has nobly come forward to maintain, by his comprehensive and powerful mental efforts, the cause of the South. "It is not among the least revolting consequences of the proceedings of the abolitionists, that they involve the necessity of inquiring into a subject so fraught with every thing that can render it aggravating to the feelings of humanity. That the slaves may, at some not very distant period, be excited, by the goadings of the abolitionists, to the most desperate atrocities, is more than sufficiently probable." But "that sense of inferiority which makes every slave a coward in the presence of his master, will prevent their obtaining freedom only at the master's will." "In Jamaica," says the same talented author, "the negroes are daily becoming more licentious and corrupt. Many of them do not work over two hours a day. This island "promises to become as pestiferous a sink of vice and corruption, as the most libertine enthusiast can desire."

We have only now to turn for one moment to the freed negroes of the United States. Not to those only of the South, but to those of the North also. The emancipation of the slaves of the middle states was gradual

and progressive. These states possessed comparatively few, and their services were not indispensably necessary to domestic offices, or the cultivation of the land. What then, we ask, is the true condition of the free coloured people of those states? Here and there you find industrious individuals, such as you sometimes see in the South. But as a whole, are they not improvident, or lazy, or licentious, or profligate, or vile and villainous, perhaps all? Do they look, as a whole, beyond a servant's place, and is the white man willing that they shall go beyond it? We appeal now to facts, because, having lived a long while where there are no negroes in slavery at all, we are prepared to judge of this matter. What is the condition of the free negroes in the District of Columbia? Some of them are pious, upright, good men. Most of them live in wretchedness and die in disgrace. But you say there are slaves there. Go then to Pennsylvania. The wretchedness of the negro population of Philadelphia, where there are about 25,000 free negroes, is beyond all human calculation. It is indeed unparalleled in this country. Look at the internal towns, and see their state. At Lancaster, Harrisburg, Reading, Carlisle, Chambersburg. Some of the most miserable creatures we ever beheld, monuments of laziness, profligacy and crime, are among the negroes in some of those towns. Do you believe us? Do you say no? Look here. We give you, intelligent and considerate reader, an article in the Presbyterian Advocate, published in Pittsburg, which shows how the negroes have been affected in Pennsylvania by emancipation. The article is brief, and we copy it entire. Look at this! "There are 25,549 negroes in the city and county of Philadelphia. A house of refuge for coloured children is proposed. There are 50,000 negroes in the state. Of every nine convicts in the Eastern Penitentiary in 1831, four were negroes; of every nine in 1841, seven are blacks! This is an alarming disproportion, considering the fewness of the blacks."

Here then is a picture, one too, drawn by ministers of a christian church, friendly to the cause of emancipation. Some of whom at least, are believed to be abolitionists; but who, in presenting the true condition of the coloured

man, have given us the foregoing faithful statements. But, if any doubt, let him go and read for himself, the statistics of the Pennsylvania penitentiaries, and behold the truth of what these good men here state. If then these be facts, and this the condition of the coloured people in the free states, what must be their situation in slave states? There they induce the slaves to steal—there most of them are accustomed to spend their all for drink. There, every effort to induce industry and care is abortive, and because others provide for them, idleness and profligacy ensue. In a residence of several years in the midst of at least five hundred free negroes, where the land was good, and several coloured persons owners of it, by the kindness of the whites, in no one year out of five years, if brought to testify to it on oath, could we say that we believe the five hundred made five hundred bushels of grain. What then, are such persons to live and depredate on society? What would be their state if two or three millions were turned loose? Let those who reside in New York say! There abolitionists may consult their own eyes and ears, and while sickening with disappointment, at the result of all the efforts, even of sober rational philanthropy, in seeing the laziness, the dirt, the debauchery, and the crimes of the free blacks of that city. Let them ask themselves, if the massacre, and exile, and ruin of their brethren of the South, and the substitution of a population composed of such ingredients, will increase or diminish the sum of human happiness. Such a community could not last. Would not the free blacks now perish amidst the frosts of winter in all our large cities, but for the benevolence and attention of the charitable whites. Is not this the case in New York? And although there are excellent coloured men who have been freed, or who have purchased their freedom, is it not a fact that there are thousands of free negroes, whose condition is as far inferior to that of the southern slaves, as their condition, abolitionists being judges, is inferior to that of their owners? Their want of prudence, their improvidence of the future, and their recklessness of character, leave them the prey of want, of every vice, and almost every disease. To

remedy these evils, the abolitionists point out amalgamation. A mixture of blood, a communion of civil and social rights—this is the cure. We are to lower that standard of nature, with which the God of nature has endowed us. Physical incongruities are to be overcome. White and black children are to be educated together, and then their bloods are to be mingled, and of it, one blood be formed. We are to deny ourselves, and renounce our nature, our feelings, our race, and then give our country and our all, to millions of slaves forced upon us by a foreign power. Yes! the white man who possesses in himself the ability, if we may so speak, of political regeneration, and has ever proved it, by bettering his civil condition, is to be brought down to a level with the negro, and all his mental powers are to be subjugated, and prostrated, to make him a companion meet for those who *comparatively speaking, as a whole*, only know to grovel in the dust. God forbid that such a requisition should ever be pressed upon the South! To do this, would be to attack her independence in the tenderest point; and the day in which it is done, will tell to heaven and earth, that southerners consider resistance, though it be to the extermination of the coloured race, a solemn duty, for the faithful performance of which, as did their fathers in the cause of liberty, they will pledge “their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour.”

PART VI.

THE QUESTION WHO ARE ABOLITIONISTS ? ANSWERED. THAT SUCH HAVE NEITHER INDIVIDUALLY NOR COLLECTIVELY, A MORAL OR POLITICAL RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY IN THE SLAVE-HOLDING STATES. TO THE CONTRARY, THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF OUR COMMON COUNTRY BIND THEM MORALLY AS CHRISTIANS, WHO OUGHT TO OBEY THOSE LAWS AND POLITICALLY, AS CITIZENS, TO AID AND PROTECT THE SOUTH, IN THEIR RIGHT OF PROPERTY IN SLAVES. THE VIEWS OF CONWAY ROBINSON, ESQ. ATTORNEY AT LAW IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, ON THIS SUBJECT.

FROM what has already been written by us, on the subject of a direct and immediate emancipation of the slave population of our country, here in our midst, to be raised to an equality of rights, moral, political and social, with ourselves, it is apparent that some pretty correct ideas of the true character of abolitionists, as well as their principles, may be plainly seen. In our exposition of an abolitionist, it is certainly not our intention to become the advocates of slavery or of the slave trade. We have already said that slavery is an evil, a great evil, and every true patriot, as well as every friend to humanity, must desire that the country be rid of it, for the ultimate good of ourselves and posterity, as well as that of the slave population. But slavery now exists. It is here—we are under the influence of that evil. We must get clear of it in the most appropriate and the safest way, if we get clear of it at all. But let it be remembered, it is one thing to be averse to slavery in principle, and in practice too, and another to be an abolitionist. For an abolitionist, as we gather his character from the writings

of abolitionists, and we have quoted them freely in this work, is one, who not only asks for, but *demands*, and calls upon the *free states to demand*, the direct and immediate emancipation of *all slaves, here, in our midst, now* held in bondage, in the slave-holding states; and also their exaltation to an equality with the whites, as to rights and privileges, moral, social, and political. Now, any class of men who would make such a demand, not only manifest their presumption, but display to all the earth, that they are enthusiasts and fanatics of the first order. This, then, is the first characteristic feature in the composition, or constitution of an abolitionist. He is an enthusiast; he is a fanatic. An enthusiast is one who looks for the accomplishment of an end, without the use of the *legitimate* and *appropriate* means to effect it. A fanatic is one guilty of a religious phrensy, and wildness of conduct. To abolitionists all these things actually appertain. They seek to bring about an emancipation direct and immediate, by means not only not legitimate, but wholly inappropriate. Instead of persuasion, and argument, founded on reason and revelation, there is an entire disregard of all those courtesies, and all that civility and kindness, which ought to characterize men seeking to upturn an institution, of hundreds of years standing, and one too, the upturning of which must be, without great care, attended with so many frightful consequences. Instead of this, what do we hear. A passage of scripture is disconnected from the context, it is harped on, as if it contained the whole christian system, the entire plan of salvation itself. And then with a "religious phrensy"—"a wildness of conduct, almost unparalleled at any period of the world, (even in the darkest ages,) *men, women, children*, have been enlisted in the ranks of abolitionism; above all, christian ministers have made the sacred desk an arena for abolition discussion and abuse of all, who do not enter into their plans without regard to *office, standing, or character*, as "rogues," "kidnappers," "men-stealers," "pirates," "murderers, and worse than murderers."

Some remarks of Dr. Channing and Judge Jay, come but little short of those made by the rudest abolitionists,

in virulence and abuse. The pill is no less nauseous, because it contains a little sweetening. For our part, we believe all southerners had rather have, and endure, the open attacks of *foul-mouthed* abolitionists, than the *artful, under-handed, insidious, smooth-tongued* slander, of a learned divine. That such a man as Dr. C. should volunteer and yield himself as one, to join in an attack on men that claim too the right to speak and act for themselves; and at one fell stroke, denounce them, as wanting in sympathy and all the feelings of humanity, as unchristian, *wholly so*, as unjust, as "murderers of the bodies and souls of men," and as carrying on "a spurious amalgamation" "by forcing the coloured woman to yield to their demands." is language that we were not prepared to hear from such a quarter. What ought to be our indignation when we behold *such men* pursuing this course? A course evidently calculated to instigate an ignorant population, of millions of coloured people, to insurrection and murder. What must we say when we behold *such men* "sowing the seeds of a servile war," converting the precepts of holy writ, into an excuse for violating its spirit and doctrine? What must we say when we behold them "snatching a burning brand from the throne of God, to set fire to our institutions, and consume our union to ashes," and force us to "seek a refuge from the red hot fires of fanaticism, in the chill dark caverns of inhumanity, and murder itself."

Without a rule of faith, with no standard authority, no teacher whose lessons are hallowed by the belief of ages, no pastor who seems to have any guide, but his own wild vagaries, or any other restraint than that of his own consummate arrogance, **MEN** and **WOMEN** are induced alike, to leave their homes and travel hundreds of miles, to the neglect of their domestic duties, to deliberate upon, and discuss plans of operation in abolition conventions; whereby, the better to attack the south and its institutions. We give an instance or two of this gross enthusiasm and fanaticism. One man, dependent on his daily work in one of the free states, with whom we are acquainted, left his home and labour, at a time, when, the confinement of his wife, placed her in a most delicate and helpless condition,

with several little children, mostly also helpless, but badly provided for, if provided for at all, to go off several hundred miles to an abolition convention, under the conviction that by the loss of his vote, or influence, the Utica abolition convention, would not force the south "*to set all the poor negroes free.*" Negroes, who, in our hearts, we believe, were at that very time, better off and more comfortable than either he or his. This fact can be established not only by our own testimony, but by others also of unquestionable veracity.

We give another case. An old raw-boned lady, about six feet six inches high, called at our house in the dead of winter, on her journey to Washington, the bearer of a petition twelve yards and a half long, as *she said*, to be presented to congress by the honourable J. Q. Adams, ex-president of the United States of North America. We afterwards understood that this was signed by men, women, children, coloured and white. The poor old enthusiastic lady, seemed to think that the world would speedily end, if she did not hasten to Washington, and have her petition presented, that the *murderous southerners* might be forced to free the negroes. We have been ourself insulted at the door of a church, and in the very act of entering the same, simply, because we were born south of the Potomac, known to be an anti-abolitionist, and dared to pollute the sanctuary of a free state, by entering the same. But mark a further illustration of the fanaticism of abolitionists. This same individual employed negroes, said to be *runaway slaves*, from a neighbouring state, to labour for him, and they were brought to the table to sit down and eat with his own daughter, a pretty interesting girl not twenty. It occurred to us, that *he might lament it*. However this is not our business, the laws of *some* free states, legalize marriages with white and coloured people, and abolitionists *believe* and absolutely *demand*, that negroes "ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges and the exercise of the same prerogatives as others," and that "the paths of preferment, of wealth and intelligence, should be opened as *widely* to them as to persons of a white complexion." Such is the language of the "manifesto" of the National Anti-slavery Society of Philadelphia.

To such a height of imprudence and arrogance have declarations and conduct such as are mentioned above, forced the negroes of the free states, that we are told, in one of the towns bordering on Maryland, an association has been formed of abolitionists and negroes, one of the articles of which is, that no coloured *lady* or *gentleman* is to consent to be a labourer, or domestic in any family, or house, whose inmates however wealthy or exalted, will not permit them to be seated with their employers regularly, at their tables, and in their churches, and *unite and mingle with them*, in their social parties and companies. By such work as this, these ignorant, hair-brained, enthusiastic, fanatical abolitionists, expect to force the south, to turn loose in their midst, three millions of slaves, and exalt them, to participate with themselves, "in all their privileges, social, moral, and political." Although some white parents at the north, may not blush to see their lovely daughters, leaning on the arms of *coal-black negro men*, and led by them to the altar; and although, a thousand coloured *lasses* may mate off, with as many white men, and have their union consummated by all the sacred rites of religion, and the sanctions of law, yet it moves us not; we are here! The south cannot and will not be forced into measures by such enthusiasts. Abolitionists may foolishly and wickedly carry out their own theory, by giving up, in the exercise of their fanaticism to wretchedness and disgrace, the *SONS* and *DAUGHTERS* of their own bowels, but we stand on a rock, from whence we are not to be moved.

An abolitionist is not only an enthusiast and a fanatic, but he is also a disorganizer, and virtually an opponent of all law, sacred and human. We have shown at another place how these disorganizers are pledged for upturning the institutions of society, by their dogmas advanced and supported, at the hazard of the christian system itself. How men are to be thrown back into a state of insubordination and disorder, under the vain show of *equality*, founded on the *abstract* principles of *moral, civil, and natural rights*. To contradict Abraham, Jacob, Job, "Moses, and all the prophets," is nothing. To deny New Testament principle and example,

is nothing. Their dogmas are presented as a barrier against the whole, and thousands of christians, of every age of the world, as well as those now in the south, are all cut off at one fell stroke, as dead branches, only fit for eternal burnings. Hear it! "All who retain slaves in bondage, are men-stealers, according to the scriptures." "Such commit a presumptuous transgression of the divine commandments," and "their claims to religion, &c., are all before God null and void." These are the dis-organizing dogmas of abolitionism. To carry out, therefore, these principles, they have abused the ministers and members of the different churches, who live south as well as those north, who resist abolitionism. Their persecutions followed that great and good man of God, the Rev. Dr. Fisk, from the New England Methodist Conference, over the blue waters of the Atlantic to Europe, and met him at every point. They pursued him to his home, followed him to his grave, and are not yet hushed, because that though dead, he speaks against abolitionism. So did they pursue and persecute Bishop Hedd-
ing, Dr. Bangs, and others. An effort has also been made to divide the missionary societies of the large Baptist and Methodist denominations, lest southern men should give, to aid in sending the gospel to the heathen, and the offerings of abolitionists should be polluted, by a mingling with those of southerners. Many men of true, great, and undissembled piety and sterling integrity at the north, in every church have been denounced; even whole conferences, and associations, presbyteries and conventions, because, they have not joined in the hue and cry against the southerner.

Worse, if worse there can be; these abolitionists have proclaimed war against the institutions, civil and social, of the United States, as well as against its constitution. The dissolution of the union itself is threatened. Our constitution, in their hands, is but a piece of brown pa-
per, "a rope of sand," only designed to bind, as long as they think proper. This we shall see when we look more particularly at the constitutional provisions of the union on this subject. We do not mean that common, ignorant, or untaught abolitionists, only inculcate such

principles, and are ready to abandon the union, and give up *the constitution* of these states; but men of exalted talents and standing, Dr. Channing, Judge Jay, and *others*. Shall they speak for themselves? Hear Dr. C. "The slaveholder must not imagine, that he has nothing to do but to fight with a few societies. These of themselves are nothing. He should not waste on them one fear. They are strong only as representing the spirit of the christian and civilized world! These are not to be withstood, by artful strokes of policy, or by daring crimes. The world is against him and the world's Maker." "He might as well think of imprisoning the winds." "A deadly sophistry will weigh on men's consciences and hearts, until terrible convulsions,—God's just judgments, will hasten the deliverance," &c. "The fire now smothered will blaze out." "Strange that the south should think of securing its 'peculiar institutions,' by violent means." "Its violence necessarily increases the evils it would suppress." This is bad enough, but hear again! "Let no man who feels the greatness of the evil which threatens us, satisfy himself with unprofitable regrets; but let each embody his opposition in a form, which will give incitement to his neighbour, and act on men in power." "There is a spirit spreading through the country," (i. e.) the north-east, "in regard to slavery, which demands *changes of the constitution*, and which will *MASTER*, if it *cannot change*." Well done, Dr. C! And why so? Because "the authority of government, instead of being a reason for silence under wrongs, is a reason for protesting against wrongs." "It is time that public interest should no longer hallow injustice, and *fortify government*, in making the weak their prey." "Is it not time for the free states to pause, to reflect, to weigh well what they are doing through the national government, and to resolve that they will free themselves, from *every obligation*, to uphold an institution, which they know to be unjust." What more could a traitor to the constitution and country do or say? Dr. Channing refers them to the remarks of Judge Jay, and recommends his views of the action of the general government, on this subject of slavery. Could it be believed that such language

would proceed from one, who has so often smoothly counselled the abolitionist and the slaveholder *to keep cool?* Is this the forbearance of Dr. C? Here is abolitionism! Bound by no law, averse to all the bonds by which this union is preserved, they are ready to sacrifice all on the altar of fanaticism.

Once more we must notice a threat of Dr. Channing. Speaking of slavery and its continuance this threat is thrown out, which proves to us that abolitionists are ready for *any thing*, so it accomplish their ends, however it may be an infringement of law, social, moral or civil. After all their boasted attachment to the union, we have from the pen of the doctor these words, "This cannot, ought not to be borne, it will *justify*, it will at length *demand* the separation of the states." "For ONE, I SAY, that earnestly as I deprecate the separation of the states, and though this event would disappoint most cherished hopes of my country, still, I can submit to it more readily. I shrink from the contamination." "I am compelled to acknowledge an extent of corruption among us, which menaces freedom and our dearest interests, a policy which will give new and enduring impulse by corruption, which must multiply indefinitely public and private crime. Public men may in craft or passion decree violence and oppression; but silently, irresistibly they and their works are swept away." We have only to add a sentence or two from Judge Jay and his anti-slavery society, to show that all these abolitionists are for an infringement of all law, as well as Dr. C., sooner than not accomplish their ends. Hear then what they say! "All those laws" (a broad expression indeed) "which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore before God *utterly NULL and VOID.*" "We maintain that congress has a right, and is solemnly bound to suppress the domestic slave trade, between the several states." And again, "Suppose the constitution did sanction slavery. What then? While there is a God in heaven, can we feel bound by *any compacts of our own*, or *any enactments of our fellow worms*, to sin against him." To use the bold language of Dr. Reese, of New York, who deserves so much respect at the hands of

southern men, for his noble defence of them and their principles, abolitionism is on the whole "the purest fanaticism, that was ever exhibited in the history of our race. It blinds the eyes, perverts the intellect, blunts the moral sense, hardens the heart, sears the conscience, annihilates the religion of its votaries, and practically teaches, that while slave-holding is a heinous crime 'bearing false witness,' is *no crime at all!* If this be not fanaticism, then we know not where it is to be found." And we may add, and doubtless the intelligent reader will so conclude from the precious morsels before him, which we call *abolition specimens*, that fanaticism is the very best trait in the character of abolitionists. That it belongs to them, to seek to reverse the very laws of nature, to resist and cast them aside as of no account, when they oppose their abstract notions of moral evil and natural rights, and that they are ready with Dr. C. and Judge Jay, and *other great leaders*, to nullify the constitution of our common country, and dissolve this union both in principle and practice, so that they may but force upon all the slave-holding states, their dogmas of *social, moral, and political equality*. We believe, therefore, that from their own testimony, we have answered the question, who are abolitionists?

We now proceed to show that they have neither individually nor collectively, a moral or political right to interfere, in this question of slavery, in the slave-holding states. Indeed, there is no man, that will not, almost at first view, when he hears the sayings, and looks at the deeds of abolitionists, at once accede to this as almost a self-evident truth. A man who was born, educated, and lives without the borders of a free and independent sovereignty, has no *moral*, much less *political* right, to interfere in the management of its internal concerns. First, he has no moral right. We mean by this that the man who is not an inhabitant of a slave-holding state, but actually a resident of a free state, has no absolute, no actual, no religious right, to interfere in the *condition or internal* concerns of that slave-holding state. Now this is a plain proposition, we meet it plainly. We give Dr. Channing as proof that this right is claimed, by aboli-

tionists as well their own declaration, and then we assign our reasons for coming to these deliberate conclusions, and adduce scripture examples to prove that we are right. The fact that Dr. C. and Judge Jay, and others, have written lengthy appeals and tracts, addressed to the north and south, shows the light in which they view this subject, and waving as we do for the present, their claim to a political right to interfere, we look at that claim to a moral, positive right, what we would call a right religiously to interfere. "The present," says Dr. Channing, "is a moment of bewildering excitement, when men's minds are stormed and darkened by strong passions and fierce conflicts." "Slavery, indeed, from its very nature, must be a ground of alarm. Slavery ought to be discussed. We ought to think free and write about it." "In this point public opinion has not been, and cannot be too strongly pronounced." "Our moral power should be exerted for its relief." "The eternal law binds us to take the side of the injured," *the slave*. "Let it not be said we" abolitionists "can do nothing for the slave. We can do much, we have a power mightier than armies, the power of truth." "All other powers may fail. This must triumph. This spirit" (of abolitionism) "has but begun its work on earth. Slavery cannot stand before it." "To increase this moral power is *every man's duty*."

Now if we were so disposed, we could quote a hundred such sentences as these, from Dr. C. to show this claim, that abolitionists make, to the exercise of a moral right to interfere in the subject of slavery, as an institution of other, and to them, foreign states. Moreover that *he* claims it, not only as a right, but as the moral duty of every man, thus to interfere, and as we are told by him "*every woman*," "to think of it, feel for it, discuss it, write about it," and finally "act for its removal, bringing every moral power to bear at last against it." The claim to this moral power, is set up by Dr. C. on the ground that christianity teaches brotherly love, and that as men are bound to proclaim christian truth, and send gospel light to all the earth, so are they bound to promote the doctrines of abolitionism. In other words abolitionism and christianity are synonymous. This is indeed,

pretty well, and all who know any thing of the history of fanaticism, know that this is the ground it always takes. "We have the scriptures, they say thus and so, we are right, all others are wrong, you must therefore come to our standard, or you are no christian." Aye more, you are "the enemy of all righteousness." Now we believe, we have shown that both scripture precept, and scripture example, are directly opposed to the intolerant dogmas, and high-toned claims of abolitionists, to give instruction on the subject of slavery, to all the world. We have also shown that it is contrary to the great principle of mercy, when viewed in connexion with its tremendous consequences, both to the slave and his owner. We have moreover seen that it is an infringement of the great principle of justice, that men who have had slaves forced on their fathers, by foreign powers, whose fathers were constrained to acquire them by payment, *contrary to their will, as property*, and who have, by a law passed for self-preservation by the government under which they lived, had them entailed on them and their posterity, should now be forced not only to part with that property, but to part with it, first without any compensation, and secondly in a way repulsive to every feeling of nature, as well as to their principles of freedom and independence. All who know any thing at all of justice, know, that there must always be an essential difference, between the white man, who has purchased the lands that he occupies, by the fruits of his labour and valor, and the slave that came hither, without any rights derived from the country that gave him birth, and who had forfeited all he had there by capture in war, or by inheritance. He has certainly acquired none here, and so far from helping to obtain the independence of this country, the slaves became the instruments of most serious mischief. Hence Virginia, and all the confederated states, used in their declaration these words in 1776: "They were by the British government, prompted to rise in arms among us, those very negroes, whom by an inhuman use of his prerogative," (the king of England) forced upon us, he "has refused us permission to exclude by law." How unjust to raise without any claim, such to be citizens! But let us not be too fast on this sub-

ject, of moral right to interfere, in the internal concerns of foreign states. Let me ask is there any religion in my interfering in the concerns of New or Old England, in such a way as to divide and place its population in a condition, in which, as all past experience proves, though equal in numbers, "they *never* can be equals, and live together in peace. One or the other must be subjugated. If the masters of the south were to liberate their slaves in a body, or even by slow degrees, without removing them at the same time from the states in which they reside, the consequence would soon be, a struggle for power and a war of the worst description. Now let me ask is there any religion in seeking to accomplish such an end, in such a way? Take the remarks of Dr. C. himself and give it a moral application. "When a negro fugitive slave touches New England, he is free." Well! he is but one in a thousand, he can do harm, but suppose three millions go thither. How would it be then? What may be safely done with a few, is often very dangerous or impracticable with many. "And do not the States of Pennsylvania and New York, where are thousands of negroes, who have either runaway from, or have been emancipated by their masters, and are said to be admitted to all the privileges of freemen, know by melancholy experience, that scarcely one in a hundred is capable of rationally using that blessing? They have abused, not enjoyed it. A large portion have died miserably, equal numbers have become the habitual inmates of bridewells, Penitentiaries, hospitals, and state prisons, and of the remainder, but a few, very few, are either moral in their conduct, decent in their manners, or respectable in their situation." This is the testimony of some of the most respectable and exalted citizens of New York and Pennsylvania.

What then must be the condition of southern slaves when turned loose? Would it be religious to do so, under such circumstances, and in view of such painful experience? We know that our morality, the morality inculcated in the Bible, is not sufficiently sublimated for this exquisite squeamishness of the modern philanthropy of abolitionists, "and it would appear from their statements that God himself has changed, since he gave laws from

the smoking Sinai, to the whole world," and inculcated by his own Son and his apostles, the high and holy duties of master and servant. Is there religion in this? Is there any religion in seeking to do that which may, and which actually does undermine the happiness, and destroy the security of the domestic fireside of all the South? That of the master as well as his slave? That which stimulates the latter to insurrection and murder, and the former of consequence, to deeds of cruelty and tyranny? Is there any religion in perverting the precepts of our holy christianity to purposes of defamation, slander, insubordination, insurrection, rebellion, barbarity, slaughter and ruin? Who does not see, that if the established precepts and examples of christianity, stand in the way of these fanatics, they throw them aside; if the laws of the land interfere with their plans, they denounce them as impious, and if the constitution of the country, as it does, cut them off from the right of interference in the internal concerns of the country, they are ready to give it up, sooner than let go or give up their favourite dogmas? Is this moral? Is this religious? Does CHRISTIANITY teach that such is religion? That freedom which emanates from the will of the people, administered through the medium of laws, and guarantied by the faith of a constitution, is not only endangered, but is absolutely prostrated and thrown away, by such a course; and when fanaticism has done its work of desolation, and stands in the midst of the ruins of society—when it has prostrated all the great land-marks of our rights and duties, what does it put in the place thereof? The arbitrary exposition of a few texts of Scripture, and the abstract ideas of individual LEADERS, about moral evil and natural rights, combined with the tales and the dogmas of such disorganizers. This abolitionism so far as it respects religion, is a heresy, a slander upon christianity. "It does not look for general, it looks only for one good. It sees but one object, whether real or imaginary. For that, it will sacrifice every thing but its *own safety*, which is not to be placed *in jeopardy*." Is the following, from Dr. Channing, the language of religion, the language of the christian subjects of a government? Aye, a part of the very source of goverment itself. "We are

for union, but not slavery. We will give the union for the abolition of slavery, if nothing else will gain it, but if we cannot gain it at all, then the South is welcome to a dissolution—the sooner the better. The slaveholders may as well understand, first as last, that the union may have other causes for them, than that of a lash to shake over the heads of northern freemen.” Another maintains the right and duty of the slaves “to cut the throats, or poison, or consume with fire, his master and all his family, if by so doing he can free himself from bondage.” The slave is called upon “to assert his right to freedom in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ,” and at a convention of abolitionists, it was laid down as a principle, “that the condition of slavery absolves us, from all the obligations of mankind,” granting to the slave, thus the right to prey as a beast upon, and indeed cut up by the roots, the entire social system. And are these principles, these sayings, these deeds, religion? We trow not! Such a man cannot see his own family, his own condition, his own heart; O no! He must look only at the human family. He cannot look even at his own state. The wicked South, “the oppressed slaves,” nothing short of the great human family, can awaken his sympathies. The *prisoner*, the oppressed poor, the rich *oppressor*, the destitute widow, the friendless orphan, the prodigal drunkard, are all perhaps within a stone’s cast of his own door. There is his *own wife*, and there are his *own children*, suffering perhaps—it may be are going to hell—at least, thousands of his neighbours are; but these little things move him not, nor the slaves of Hindostan, nor the slaves of *Africa*. O no! the slaves of the South, only move upon the great deep of his benevolent, and feeling, and pious heart. How good—how transcendently good, is this religion? We repeat, we believe not in it.

But say they, “every christian is bound to carry the truth and the gospel to the ends of the earth.” But we deny the truth of abolition dogmas, and they and the gospel are very different, as we have seen. We presume St. Paul felt it his duty to carry the gospel into all the world; he did carry it into various parts thereof. But then he preached what? The gospel—not abolitionism—

Dr. Channing being judge. "The gospel," says he, "was designed, not for one race, or for one time, but for all races, and all times. It looked not at the abolition of this form of evil, for that age alone." "If it had proclaimed the unlawfulness of slavery, and taught slaves to resist the oppression of their masters, it would have instantly arrayed the two parties in deadly hostility, throughout the civilized world; its announcement would have been the signal of a servile war, and the very name of the christian religion would have been forgotten, amidst the agitations of universal bloodshed." But further hear the doctor, who allows it to be a fact that, "under these circumstances, the gospel does not forbid slavery." Just let the reader hear Dr. Channing once more. "Slavery, in the age of the apostle Paul, had so penetrated society, was so intimately interwoven with it, and the materials of a servile war were so abundant, that a religion preaching freedom to its victims, would have shaken the social fabric to its foundation, and would have armed against itself the whole power of the state. Of consequence, Paul did not assail it." This is more than we of the South have ever said. Well done Dr. Channing. We hope your excellent testimony will have its effect on abolitionists. We know you are good authority with the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, that has stereotyped your *abolition* works. Carry out then, abolition brethren, these doctrines of the Bible, and all will be well. We deliberately conclude, and we believe, we have proved conclusively, in the preceding pages, and in these remarks—first, by reason; secondly, by revelation; thirdly, by the natural tendency of things; and lastly, by Dr. Channing himself, that abolitionists have no moral right to interfere in the matter of southern slavery.

We come now to consider the question, have they any political right? And before we proceed one step farther, we will let the great Dr. Channing, who does, with all his greatness, appear to us a medley of contradictions, answer *himself*, the question. We declare it is enough to make a man start, to see such a learned divine writing, book upon book, each one of which is nothing more or less than an interference in our matters and our rights, and

then all at once turning about, he pens that sentence which we are about to quote, by which the positive declaration is made, that the free states have no right to interfere in this question at all. That each state must act for itself on this subject. And beside all this, that the North has neither the moral or political right to interfere in the internal concerns of the South, on any subject, and *especially* on that of slavery. But hear Dr. Channing again. "I know that it is said that nothing but political action can put slavery down;" i. e. abolitionists say so. "The free states cannot *rightfully* use the power of their legislatures, or of congress to abolish slavery in the states where it is established. On this subject our fathers swerved from the right." And again—"An avowed object" (of the doctor's abolition friends, and that also in his own writings) "is now proposed," he says, "to be effected by an amendment of the constitution, as a means of removing us" *abolitionists* "from a participation of the guilt of slavery." Truly then doctor, none of you now have the right to interfere. O yes! hear the doctor again. "The free states should take the high ground of duty, and to raise them to this height, the press, the pulpit, and religious and upright men should join their powers;" "that emancipation at the seat of government be insisted on," "or let congress establish itself elsewhere. The great difficulty in the way of the amendment now proposed," by abolitionists of freeing southern negroes, "is the article in the constitution" of the United States. "A state obeying this, seems to me to contract as great guilt, as if it were to bring slaves from Africa." These insurrectionary, and sorry I am to say it, rebellious attacks of Dr. Channing, on the constitution, go at least to show that we have taken one position that is right, viz. that congress itself, much less an individual state, has no right to interfere in the internal concerns of any state.

Having adduced Dr. C. to prove what we proposed for the benefit of northern brethren, whether abolitionists or opponents to them, as well as for the information of our southern fellow-citizens, we also give our own and the views of others. As it respects our own views they can be given in a few, very few words. 1. Each state in the

union, is a free and independent sovereignty, superior to any other power within the same, and also to all others without it, except what has been voluntarily yielded, for mutual safety, in that compact entered into with other independent states; which compact or treaty of mutual support and assistance, commonly called the CONSTITUTION, forms the basis of the federal government. 2. This constitution contains what these high contracting parties saw proper to adopt. 3. It must be expounded by its words only, and by no law or rule of experience. To do this would be to throw up the whole. 4. That written code of principles agreed on, defines the power to be exercised, and by whom it may or is to be exercised, and how long, &c. What is granted may be done, provided it be done in the way prescribed. What is not granted ought not, and must not be done at all. To do this would be to destroy and break that compact. And whether we view it as a contract between sovereign states, to establish and maintain a government, for the common good of the states, and the inhabitants thereof: or a contract between each state and all other states, to establish and maintain a government to the same end; or a contract between each citizen dwelling within the United States, and all other citizens, to establish and maintain a government for the good of the whole, with limited and defined powers, providing that all powers not granted are reserved to the states or to the people, it is all the same. Whilst the state governments continue to exercise various powers, according to the will of the people in each state, in the manner in which their peculiar circumstances may require, the general government exercises other and distinct powers, for the general welfare of the whole nation, and only in those matters, in which, the whole nation have a common interest. By this constitution the representation from the slaveholding states, is for the entire white population and three-fifths of the slave population, and this too, with the vote of the north. Who is there that cannot, and will not see, that, no individual state has the power to wrest from the other, any one of its political privileges or rights, or to interfere in its internal concerns? Suppose for instance that Virginia

should claim the right to have her free or worn-out negroes quartered on Massachusetts, by emigration ; would she have the power to do it, or the general government the power to enforce such a demand ? Suppose she should demand that the poor girls and boys in the factories, should be only worked six or eight hours, instead of fourteen out of *twenty-four*, what would Massachusetts say ? Would it not be "brethren, mind your own business." Aye, more—does not Dr. C. say this and say it of matters too, where we are actually bound by the constitution ? After admitting that Massachusetts breaks the constitution in the case of fugitive slaves, he says, "the people of Massachusetts go with the civilized and christian world. The south should understand, resistance is idle," "neither policy nor violence can avail ; and what is more, they have no *right* to reproach us, with letting this provision of the constitution die among us." What, Doctor, no right to interfere when the constitution authorises it in your own concerns, how then came you to have the right to interfere in ours, without any constitutional warrant whatever ?

On the subject however, of this political right, we take a great pleasure in referring to a most excellent essay upon the constitutional rights as to slave property, lately published in the Southern Literary Messenger, written by CONWAY ROBINSON, esq. an eminent attorney at law, in Richmond, Virginia. It is entitled, "An Essay upon the Constitutional Rights as to Slave Property." We could indeed wish that our limits would admit of quoting this whole essay. That being impracticable, we give some of the authorities and also some of the opinions of its learned and talented author, that bear more immediately on the point now in hand. The editor introduces these views thus. "The article is written in a calm and candid manner, and reflects much credit upon the industry and judgment of its author. He has rendered an important service to his own state, and presented, by an array of facts, a powerful appeal to the state with which she is in controversy. We think that our readers will be much interested and instructed in its perusal. We are not aware that we are taking an improper liberty, when

we mention that its author is Conway Robinson, esq. of this city. Let it be read with calmness, impartiality and reflection.—*Ed. Messenger.*” We give the reader our quotations from it. “The great importance of this subject, and the increased and increasing interest with which it is viewed in every part of our country, justify the belief that an examination of the provisions of the constitution, on which the owners of slave property were induced to rely, when the federal compact was formed, a sketch of the laws which congress has passed to carry out those constitutional provisions, and a review of the judicial decisions which have been made under the constitution and laws, may prove acceptable to the readers of this journal, and not be without utility at the present time. As matter which is introductory and somewhat explanatory, we shall commence by giving an outline of the laws as to slavery, which at the time the federal constitution was adopted and subsequently thereto, have prevailed in three most important northern states. We mean New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts.

“1. *Laws as to slavery in the northern states.*—The law, as to slavery in Massachusetts, is stated by Chief Justice Parsons in a case which came before the Supreme Court of that state thus, ‘slavery,’ he says, ‘was introduced into this country soon after its first settlement, and was tolerated until the ratification of the present constitution. The slave was the property of his master, subject to his orders, and to reasonable correction for misbehaviour—was transferable like a chattel by gift or sale, and was assets in the hands of his executors or administrator. If the master was guilty of a cruel or unreasonable castigation of his slave, he was liable to be punished for the breach of the peace; and, I believe, the slave was allowed to demand sureties of the peace against a violent and barbarous master, which generally caused a sale to another master. And the issue of the female slave, according to the maxim of the civil law, was the property of her master. Under these regulations, the treatment of slaves was in general mild and humane, and they suffered hardships not greater than hired servants. Slaves were sometimes permitted to en-

joy some privileges as a *peculuem*, with the profits of which they were enabled to purchase their manumission, and liberty was frequently granted to a faithful slave, by the bounty of the master, sometimes in his life, but more commonly by his will.' In New York, it was declared by one of the colonial statutes, that all due encouragement ought to be given to the direct importation of slaves. After the revolution, the government of that state determined upon a different policy. The act was hostile to the importation and to the exportation of slaves, as an article of trade, not to the existence of slavery itself; for it took care to re-enact and establish the maxim of the civil law, that the children of every female slave should follow the state and condition of the mother. It was not considered to prevent a sheriff from taking or selling a slave under an execution against the owner; and the slave was subject to the control and disposition of the executor or administrator of a deceased owner, in the same manner as other personal property. The prohibition was against a voluntary sale by the master of the slave, imported or brought into the state. The statute imposed a penalty for harbouring slaves or servants; and it was held moreover that this was cumulative, and did not destroy the common law remedy which a master had by action, to recover damages for seducing and harbouring his servant. The master might confine his slave in jail, and this it appears was done in a case decided as late as 1823. The act of the legislature of Pennsylvania, for the gradual abolition of slavery, passed on the 1st of March, 1780. By this act every person, who at the time of passing it was a slave, was to remain a slave, unless his owner omitted to register him on or before the 1st day of November ensuing. Children born after the passing of the act, were born free, subject however to a temporary servitude till the age of twenty-eight: and the issue of such children could not be held to any servitude. At the time of the convention, the experience of the states south of Pennsylvania was such as to produce distrust of their northern brethren as to the safety of their property in slaves. It was no easy task to reconcile the local interests and discordant pre-

possessions of the different sections of the United States; but the business was accomplished by acts of concession and mutual condescension.

“2. Provisions made by the Federal Convention, for the security of the south.—The original articles of confederation contained a clause in the following words: ‘If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or high misdemeanor in any state, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the government or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.’ In the convention of 1787, the committee to whom were referred the proceedings of the convention, for the purpose of reporting a constitution, reported a draft, in which the fifteenth article was as follows: ‘Any person charged with treason, felony, or high misdemeanor in any state, who shall flee from justice and shall be found in any other state, shall, on demand of the executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of the offence.’ When the draft was before the convention, on the 28th of August, 1787, it was moved to strike out the words ‘high misdemeanor,’ and insert the words ‘other crime;’ which motion passed in the affirmative. On the next day, a motion was made to agree to the following proposition, to be inserted after the fifteenth article: ‘If any person bound to service or labour, in any of the United States, shall escape into another state, he or she shall not be discharged from such service or labour, in consequence of any regulation subsisting in the state to which they escape, but shall be delivered up to the person justly claiming their service or labour.’ This proposition was unanimously adopted. Afterwards, a committee was appointed to revise the style of, and arrange the articles agreed to by the house. The second section of the fourth article, reported by the committee of revision, contained the following clauses: ‘A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be

delivered up, and removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.' 'No person legally held to service or labour, in one state, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of regulations subsisting therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.' The federal constitution, as adopted, contains the clauses thus reported, with some amendment. In the first clause the words 'to be removed,' are in place of the words 'and removed.' In the second clause, the change of language is more striking. The word 'legally' is struck out, and after the word 'state,' the words 'under the laws thereof,' inserted; and the expression, 'regulations subsisting therein,' is substituted by the words 'any law or regulations therein.'

*"3. Debates in the state conventions.—*When the Virginia convention were considering whether they would assent to, and ratify the federal constitution, Mr. Madison, amongst other things, said—'It is worthy of our consideration, that those who prepared the paper on the table, found difficulties not to be described, in its formation—mutual deference and concession were absolutely necessary. Had they been inflexibly tenacious of their individual opinions, they would never have concurred. Under what circumstances was it formed? When no party was formed, or particular prepossession made, and men's minds were calm and dispassionate. Yet, under these circumstances, it was difficult, extremely difficult, to agree to any general system.' The members of the Virginia convention were nearly equally divided upon the question of ratification, and the opposition embraced a very considerable proportion of the talent of the state. Amongst the opponents, there were none more decided or more zealous, than George Mason and Patrick Henry. When the section, declaring that the importation of such persons as any of the states might think proper to admit, should not be prohibited by congress, prior to the year 1808, was under consideration, Mr. George Mason said—'As much as I value an union of all the states, I would not admit the southern states* into the union, unless they

* By "southern states" were meant South Carolina and Georgia.

agreed to the discontinuance of this disgraceful trade; because it would bring weakness and not strength to the union. And though this infamous traffic be continued, we have no security for the property of that kind which we have already. There is no clause in this constitution to secure it; for they may lay such tax as will amount to manumission.' Mr. Madison answered these objections as follows: 'I should conceive this clause to be impolitic, if it were one of those things which could be excluded without encountering greater evils. The southern states would not have entered into the union of America, without the temporary permission of that trade. And if they were excluded from the union, the consequences might be dreadful to them and to us. We are not in a worse situation than before. That traffic is prohibited by our laws, and we may continue the prohibition. The union in general is not in a worse situation. Under the articles of the confederation it might be continued forever, but by this clause, an end may be put to it after twenty years. There is, therefore, an amelioration of our circumstances. A tax may be laid in the meantime, but it is limited, otherwise congress might lay such a tax as would amount to a prohibition. From the mode of representation and taxation, congress cannot lay such a tax on slaves as will amount to manumission. Another clause secures us that property which we now possess. At present, if any slave elopes to any of those states where slaves are free, he becomes emancipated by their laws. For the laws of the states are uncharitable to one another in this respect. But by this constitution, 'no person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.' This clause was expressly inserted, to enable owners of slaves to reclaim them. This is a better security than any that now exists. No power is given to the general government to interpose, with respect to the property in slaves now held by the states. The taxation of this state being equal only to its representation, such a tax cannot

be laid as he supposes.' Patrick Henry endeavoured to support the objection, that if the constitution were adopted, congress might abolish slavery. 'As much,' said he, 'as I deplore slavery, I see that prudence forbids abolition. I deny that the general government ought to set them free; because a decided majority of the states have not the ties of sympathy and fellow-feeling, for those whose interest would be affected by the emancipation. The majority of congress is to the north, and the slaves are to the south. In this situation, I see a great deal of the property of the people of Virginia in jeopardy, and their peace and tranquillity gone away; I repeat it again, that it would rejoice my soul that every one of my fellow-beings was emancipated. As we ought with gratitude to admire that decree of heaven, which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow-men in bondage. But is it practicable by any human means, to liberate them, without producing the most dreadful and ruinous consequences? We ought to possess them in the manner we have inherited them from our ancestors, as their manumission is incompatible with the felicity of our country. But we ought to soften, as much as possible, the rigour of their unhappy fate.' Mr. Henry was answered by Governor Randolph: 'I ask,' said he, 'and I will ask again and again, until I be answered, (not by declamation,) where is the part that has a tendency to the abolition of slavery? Is it the clause which says that 'the migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by congress, prior to the year 1808?' This is an exception from the power of regulating commerce, and the restriction is only to continue till 1808. Then congress can, by the exercise of that power, prevent future importations; but does it affect the existing state of slavery? Were it right here to mention what passed in convention on the occasion, I might tell you that the southern states, even South Carolina herself, conceived this property to be secure by these words. I believe, whatever we may think here, that there was not a member of the Virginia delegation, who had the smallest suspicion of the *abolition*

of slavery. Go to their meaning. Point out the clause where this formidable power of emancipation is inserted. But another clause of the constitution proves the absurdity of the supposition. The words of the clause are, 'No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.' Every one knows that slaves are held to service or labour; and when authority is given to owners of slaves to vindicate their property, can it be supposed they can be deprived of it? If a citizen of this state, in consequence of this clause, can take his runaway slave in Maryland, can it be seriously thought, that after taking him and bringing him home, he could be made free?

"The sentiment of North Carolina, like that of Virginia, was strongly opposed to any continuance of the importation of slaves; but in both states, it was equally necessary to satisfy the minds of the people, that the property then existing in slaves was secured and protected. When in the convention of North Carolina, the last clause of the second section of the fourth article was read, Mr. Iredell explained the reason of the clause. 'In some of the northern states,' he observed, 'they have emancipated all their slaves. If any of our slaves go there, and remain there a certain time, they would, by the present laws, be entitled to their freedom, so that their masters could not get them again. This would be extremely prejudicial to the inhabitants of the southern states, and to prevent it, this clause is inserted in the constitution. Though the word slave be not mentioned, this is the meaning of it. The northern delegates, owing to their peculiar scruples on the subject of slavery, did not choose the word slave to be mentioned.' On the other hand, the countenance given by the constitution to slavery, was urged to the North as a reason against ratifying it. Upon this subject, the following sensible remarks were made in the convention of Massachusetts, by General Heath: 'I apprehend,' said he, 'that it is not in our power to do any thing for or against those who are in slavery in the

southern states. No gentleman within these walls detests every idea of slavery more than I do. It was generally detested by the people of this commonwealth; and I ardently hope that the time will soon come, when our brethren in the southern states will view it as we do, and put a stop to it; *but to this we have no right to compel them.* Two questions naturally arise. If we ratify the constitution, shall we do any thing by our act to hold the blacks in slavery, or shall we become the partakers of other men's sins? I think, neither of them. *Each state is sovereign and independent*, to a certain degree; and they have a right, and will regulate *their own internal affairs*, as to themselves appears proper; and shall we refuse to eat or drink, or to be united with those who do not think or act just as we do? Surely not; we are not, in this case, partakers of other men's sins; for in nothing do we voluntarily encourage the slavery of our fellow-men.' Sentiments of this character prevailed; and such should now govern the conduct of the north.

"4. *Judicial decisions as to fugitives from labour.*—The second section of the fourth article of the constitution, is confined to persons held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, who escape into another. When the master voluntarily carries his slave from one state into another, that master must abide by the laws of the latter state, so far as they may affect his right in the slave. But if the slave comes from one state into another, in any other way than by the consent of the owner, whether he comes in as a fugitive or runaway, or is brought in by those who have no authority so to do, he cannot be discharged under any law of the latter state, but must be delivered up on claim of the party to whom his service or labour may be due. A slave is incapable of contracting, so far as to impair the right of his master to reclaim him; and if a private individual sue out process, or interfere otherwise with the master's claim, under the pretence of a debt contracted by the slave, such interference will be deemed illegal, and the claimant will have a right of action for any injury he may receive by such obstruction. If a person shall, in violation of the act of congress, knowingly and willingly, obstruct or hinder

the claimant in seizing the fugitive, he cannot, when sued for the penalty of five hundred dollars, prescribed by the act, set up as a defence, ignorance of the law, or even an honest belief that the person claimed as a fugitive did not owe service to the claimant. Such matters are unfit for the inquiry of a jury. It is sufficient to bring the defendant within the provisions of the law, if having notice, either by the verbal declarations of those who had the fugitive in custody, or were attempting to seize him, or by circumstances brought home to the defendant, that the person was a fugitive, or was arrested as such, he persists, nevertheless, in obstructing the seizure, or in making a rescue, and the offence is complete, although the claimant should ultimately succeed in arresting or recovering possession of the fugitive. The act of congress confers only a limited authority upon the magistrate to examine into the claim of the alleged owner; and, being satisfied on that point, to grant him a certificate to that effect. This is the commencement and termination of his duty. The effect of a certificate given by a judge or magistrate, under the act of congress, has been much discussed in the cases which have arisen in the northern states; and decisions have been made upon the subject by the highest judicial tribunals in several of the states.

"In 1819, a coloured man, claimed by a citizen of Maryland as a fugitive from his service, was arrested by him in the county of Philadelphia, and carried before a justice of the peace, who committed the man to prison, in order that inquiry might be made into the claim. The man then sued out a 'habeas corpus,' returnable before a judge of the court of Common Pleas. The judge, after hearing the parties, gave a certificate that it appeared to him by sufficient testimony, that the man owed labour or service to the claimant from whom he had absconded, and delivered the certificate to the claimant that he might remove the man to the state of Maryland. A writ *de homine replegiendo* was then sued out by the man against the keeper of the prison; and the counsel for the claimant moved to quash it, on the ground of its having issued contrary to the constitution and laws of the United States. The matter was regarded by the Supreme Court

of Pennsylvania as of considerable importance, and it was therefore held some days under advisement. Chief Justice Tilghman delivered the opinion of the court. 'Whatever,' said he, 'may be our private opinions on the subject of slavery, it is well known that our southern brethren would not have consented to become parties to a constitution, under which the United States have enjoyed so much prosperity, unless their property in slaves had been secured. This constitution has been adopted by the free consent of the citizens of Pennsylvania; and it is the duty of every man, whatever may be his office or station, to give it a fair and candid construction.' The Chief Justice cites the provision in the second section of the fourth article of the constitution, and observes, 'Here is the principle: the fugitive is to be delivered up on claim of the master. But it required a law to regulate the manner in which this principle should be reduced to practice. It was necessary to establish some mode in which the claim should be made, and the fugitive be delivered up.' The judge then quotes the enactment on the subject by congress, and concludes the opinion as follows: 'It plainly appears from the whole scope and tenor of the constitution, and act of congress, that the fugitive was to be delivered up on a summary proceeding, without the delay of a formal trial in a court of common law. But if he had really a right to freedom, that right was not impaired by this proceeding. He was placed just in the situation in which he stood before he fled, and might prosecute his right in the state to which he belonged. Now as the proceeding before Judge Armstrong, and the certificate granted by him are in exact conformity to the act of congress, that certificate, therefore, was a legal warrant to remove the plaintiff to the state of Maryland. But if this writ of *homine replegiando* is to issue from a state court, what is its effect but to arrest the warrant of Judge Armstrong, and thus defeat the constitution and law of the United States? The constitution and the law, say that the master may remove his slave by virtue of the judge's certificate; but the state court says, that he shall not remove him. It appears to us that this is the plain state of the

matter; and that the writ has been issued in violation of the constitution of the United States. We are therefore of opinion that it should be quashed.'

"In 1823, a case, under the same section of the act of congress, came before the supreme court of Massachusetts. Randolph, a slave, the property of one McCarty, of the State of Virginia, had fled from the service of his master. After getting to Massachusetts, he acquired a dwelling-house in New Bedford, which he held as his own. After living in New Bedford four or five years, he was seized by one Griffith under the act of congress. Griffith had authority in writing, (with a scroll in the place of a seal) from one Mason, the administrator on the estate of McCarty, and made the seizure as Mason's agent and attorney. Griffith was indicted for assault and battery and false imprisonment, and a verdict was taken against him. It was agreed that if the court should determine that the act of congress was not valid, or that the administrator had not power according to the true construction of that act, and of the laws of Virginia, by himself, his agent, or attorney, to reclaim the slave, or that the letters of attorney were not sufficient to operate in Massachusetts, then the verdict should stand; otherwise that the defendant should be discharged. Parker, chief justice, delivered the opinion of a majority of the court, in substance as follows: 'It is difficult, in a case like this, for persons who are not inhabitants of slave-holding states, to prevent prejudice from having too strong an effect on their minds. We must reflect, however, that the constitution was made with some states, in which it would not occur to the mind to inquire whether slaves were property. It was a very serious question when they came to make the constitution, what should be done with their slaves. They might have kept aloof from the constitution. That instrument was a compromise. It was a compact by which all are bound. We are to consider then what was the intention of the constitution. The words of it were used out of delicacy, so as not to offend some in the convention whose feelings were abhorrent to slavery; but we there entered into an agreement that *slaves should be considered as property*.

Slavery would still have continued, if no constitution had been made. The constitution does not prescribe the mode of reclaiming a slave, but leaves it to be determined by congress. It is very clear that it was not intended that application should be made to the executive authority of the state. It is said that the act which congress has passed on this subject, is contrary to the amendment of the constitution, securing the people in their persons and property against seizures, &c., without a complaint upon oath. But all the parts of the instrument are to be taken together. It is very obvious that slaves are not parties to the constitution, and the amendment has relation to the parties.' 'It is said that when a seizure is made, it should be made conformably to our laws. This does not follow from the constitution; and the act of congress says that the person to whom the service is due, may seize, &c. Whether the statute is a harsh one, is not for us to determine. 'But it is objected, that a person may in this summary manner seize a free man. It may be so, but this would be attended with mischievous consequences to the person making the seizure, and a *habeas corpus* would lie to obtain the release of the person seized. We do not perceive that the statute is unconstitutional, and we think that the defence is well made out.'

"In New York, the writ *de homine replegiendo* has been more frequently resorted to than in the other northern states. In 1834, a man who was brought before the recorder of the city of New York, as a fugitive slave, sued out a writ of *homine replegiendo*, upon which an issue was joined and tried in the New York circuit, and a verdict found that the man owed service to the person claiming him: in which verdict, judgment was rendered. The Supreme Court of New York decided, that the proper course then was for the recorder to grant a certificate allowing the removal of the fugitive. The constitutionality of a law of New York, which provides for the arrest of fugitive slaves, in a manner different in some respects from the act of congress; and gives to one, claimed as a slave, the writ of *homine replegiendo* against the person claiming the service—and suspends all pro-

ceedings before the judge or magistrate, and the removal of the slave under the certificate, until final judgment shall be given on this writ; was discussed in another case before the Supreme Court of the state of New York, which was heard in the same year. Judge Nelson, who delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court on the question as to the effect of the act of congress, and of the statute of New York, says—‘To ascertain which is entitled to paramount authority, we must go back to the source of power,—the provision of the constitution; that being conceded to be supreme, and any law in pursuance thereof controlling. The first clause is merely prohibitory upon the states, and forbids the enactment of any law, or the adoption of any regulation, in the case of a fugitive slave, by which he may be discharged from the service of his master; and this prohibition upon the state power thus far, is unqualified and complete, as it necessarily includes a restriction against any measure tending, in the slightest degree, to impair the right to such service. No ‘law or regulation’ of a state being permitted to discharge it, the claim or title of the owner remains as perfect within the jurisdiction of the state to which the fugitive has fled, after his arrival and during his continuance, as it was in and under the laws of the state from which he escaped. The service there due, and the escape being established, so explicit are the terms of the constitution, no rightful authority can be exercised by the state to vary the relation existing between the parties. To this very qualified extent, slavery may be said still to exist in a state, however effectually it may have been denounced by her constitution and laws. On this point there can be no diversity of opinion as to the intent and meaning of this provision. At the adoption of the constitution, a small majority of the states had abolished slavery within their limits, either by positive enactment or judicial adjudication; and the southern states are known to have been more deeply interested in slave labour than those of the north, where slavery yet, to some extent, existed, but where it must have been seen it would probably soon disappear. It was natural for that portion of the union to fear, that the latter states

might, under the influence of this unhappy and exciting subject, be tempted to adopt a course of legislation that would embarrass the owners pursuing their fugitive slaves, if not discharge them from service, and invite escape by affording a place of refuge. They already had some experience of the perplexities in this respect, under the confederation which contained no provision on the subject; and the serious and almost insurmountable difficulties that this species of property occasioned in the convention, were well calculated to confirm their strongest apprehensions. To this source must be attributed, no doubt, the provision of the constitution, and which directly meets the evil, by not only prohibiting the states from enacting any regulation discharging the slave from service, but by directing that he shall be delivered up to the owner. It implies a doubt whether they would, in the exercise of unrestrained power, regard the rights of the owner, or properly protect them by local legislation.'

"I am satisfied from an attentive perusal of this provision, that a fair interpretation of the terms in which it is expressed, not only prohibits the states from legislation upon the question involving the owner's right to this species of labour, but that it is intended to give to congress the power to provide for the delivering up of the slave. It is peremptory and unqualified, that 'he shall be delivered up upon claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.' The right of the owner to reclaim the fugitive in the state to which he has fled, has been yielded to him by the states. Without this provision it would have been competent for them to have wholly denied such claim, or to have qualified it at discretion. All this power they have parted with, and the owner now has not only an unqualified right to the possession, but he has the guaranty of the constitution in respect to it. Great consideration also we think due to the law of 1793, as a contemporaneous exposition of the constitutional provision. It was passed about four years after the adoption of the constitution, by a congress which included some of the most distinguished members of the convention. At the distance of forty years, we should hesitate long before we came to the conclusion that an error was committed in

the construction of this instrument under such circumstances, and which has been ever since acquiesced in, so far as we know, without question. Our own statute books also show, that down to 1830, no attempt had been made here by state legislation to interfere with this regulation of Congress."

"These extracts are from the opinion of a gentleman who has since been appointed to the high and responsible office of chief justice of the state. The opinion from which the extracts are made is, in all its parts, creditable to the judge who gave it, for the force of its views, and the ability with which they are urged ; but it is still more creditable on other grounds. The judge has shown throughout, that the local prejudices and prepossessions of those amongst whom his lot has placed him, are not sufficient to swerve him from a right decision, but that his duty to uphold the constitution and laws of the union will be honestly and independently performed. After this decision of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, in the case *Jack vs. Martin*, the cause was removed in behalf of the slave into the Court of Errors—a court constituted of the president of the senate, chancellor of the state, judges of the Supreme Court, and all the senators. The hearing before the Court of Errors was in December, 1835. Only two opinions were delivered at large. They were by the chancellor, after remarking that the decision of the court below was put upon the ground that congress not only had the power to legislate upon the subject, but that their legislation must necessarily be exclusive in relation to this matter, proceeded as follows: 'I am one of those who have been in the habit of believing, that the state legislatures had general powers to pass laws on all subjects, except those in which they were restricted by the constitution of the United States, or their own local institutions; and that congress had no power to legislate on any subject, except so far as the power was delegated to it by the constitution of the United States. I have looked in vain, among the powers delegated to congress by the constitution, for any general authority to that body to legislate on this subject. It certainly is not contained in any express grant of power, and it does not appear to

be embraced in the general grant of incidental powers, contained in the last clause of the constitution, relative to the powers of congress. In these cases of fugitive slaves and fugitives from justice, it is not certain that any legislation whatever is necessary, or was contemplated by the constitution. The provision as to persons escaping from servitude in one state into another, appears by their journal to have been adopted by a unanimous vote of the convention. At that time, the existence of involuntary servitude, or the relation of master and servant, was known to and recognized by the laws of every state in the union, except Massachusetts; and the legal right of recaption, existed in all, as a part of the customary or common law of the whole confederacy. The object of the framers of the constitution, therefore, was not to provide a new mode by which the master might be enabled to recover the services of his fugitive slave, but merely to restrain the exercise of a power, which the state legislatures respectively would otherwise have possessed, to deprive the master of such pre-existing right of recaption. However much, therefore, we may deplore the existence of slavery in any part of the union, as a national as well as a local evil, yet, as the right of the master to reclaim his fugitive slave is secured to him by the federal constitution; no good citizen, whose liberty and property is protected by that constitution, will interfere to prevent this provision from being carried into full effect, according to its spirit and effect; and even where the forms of the law are resorted to for the purpose of evading the constitutional provision, or to delay the remedy of the master in obtaining a return of his fugitive slave, it is undoubtedly the right, and may become the duty, of the court in which any proceedings for that purpose are instituted, to set them aside, if they are not commenced and carried on in good faith, and upon probable grounds for believing that the claim of the master to the service of the supposed slave is invalid.'

"The course of reasoning of Senator Bishop, was similar to that used by Judge Nelson in the Supreme Court. Upon the question being put—shall this judgment be reversed?—the members of the court unanimously voted

in the negative. Whereupon, the judgment of the Supreme court was affirmed. Thus the matter stands in New York, according to the latest reports of decisions of that state. We have but little to add to what Judge Nelson has said upon the subject. It is plain that, according to article 4, sec. 2, clause 3, of the constitution, a person held as a slave in one state, under the laws thereof, who escapes into another, is not to be discharged from slavery by means of any law or regulation existing in the state to which he escapes. All that the claimant has to do is to show, in a summary way, that the person whom he claims was his slave in another state. Ought this inquiry to be gone into before any state tribunal, acting as such? It would seem not, it was said by Gov. Randolph; in the Virginia convention, that 'every government necessarily involves a judiciary, as a constituent part. If then a federal judiciary is necessary, what are the characters of its powers? That it shall be auxiliary to the federal government, support and maintain harmony between the United States and foreign powers, and between different states, and prevent a failure of justice in cases to which particular state courts are incompetent. If this judiciary be reviewed as relative to those purposes, I think it will be found that nothing is granted which does not belong to a federal judiciary. Self-defence is its first object. Has not the constitution said, that the states shall not use such and such powers, and given exclusive powers to congress? If the state judiciaries could make decisions conformable to the laws of their states, in derogation to the general government, I humbly apprehend that the federal government would soon be encroached upon. If a particular state should be at liberty through its judiciary to prevent or impede the operation of the general government, the latter must soon be undermined. It is then necessary that its jurisdiction should extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution and the laws of the United States.'

"In the convention of North Carolina, Mr. Davie said— 'It appears to me that the judiciary ought to be competent to the decision of any question arising out of the constitution itself. On a review of the principles of all

free governments, it seems to me also necessary that the judicial power should be co-extensive with the legislative. It is necessary in all governments, but particularly in a federal government, that its judiciary should be competent to the decision of all questions arising out of the constitution.' Again, he said—'Every member who has read the constitution with attention, must observe that there are certain fundamental principles in it, both of a positive and negative nature, which being intended for the general advantage of the community, ought not to be violated by any future legislation of the particular states. Every member will agree, that the positive regulations ought to be carried into execution, and that the negative restrictions ought not to be disregarded or violated. Without a judiciary, the injunctions of the constitution may be disobeyed, and the positive regulations neglected or contravened.' If there be occasion for the exercise of judicial power in any case arising under the provision of the constitution, in regard to fugitives from labour, such judicial power should be exercised, not by a state court, but, under article 3d, section 2d, should be exercised by a court of the United States; and congress should, under article first, section seventeen, make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the power vested in the judicial department. All executive officers of the states are bound by oath or affirmation to support the constitution of the United States. Article 6th, section 2d. This constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state are bound thereby; any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding. Article 6th, section 2d. The supreme law of the land has been so expounded by the judges of the supreme court of the state of New York, as to give to it full effect. A very different exposition has been made by the executive of that state. The decisions of the supreme court of New York, show that until a very recent period, the laws of that state recognized slavery, and her statutes admitted that one man might be the property of another. Such property was the subject of sale, and the owner's rights

were protected by the laws. After a union of the states has been formed, based upon the provisions contained in this constitution, a person charged in Virginia with stealing property, flees from justice and is found in New York, Virginia demands the fugitive, and New York refuses to deliver him up. New York, while so refusing, admits that if the person is charged with a crime, he ought to be delivered up; and she admits that stealing property is a crime. But the ground of her refusal is that nothing was stolen except a person held as a slave, and that a person held as a slave is not property by the laws of New York. We trust it is not yet come to this, that New York shall be told in vain that she herself has said, persons held in Virginia as slaves shall be recognized as property. We trust it is not too late to remind her, that she has so said in a constitution which she agreed should be her supreme law, and which she declared, the members of her state legislature, and all her executive and judicial officers, should be solemnly pledged to support."

We should be truly pleased on this very interesting subject, the political *ligature*, if we may so speak, by which the states are bound together, also to insert here at large, some interesting remarks from Mr. Paulding and Dr. Reese, of New York, from the speech of Mr. Bailey, of Accomack county, Va. at the late session of the legislature of that state, and the entire views of several other distinguished gentlemen on the constitutional question to which we have referred. Indeed, the calm, cool, deliberate views of these gentlemen call for the gratitude of every true lover of his country. We have just been honoured with a letter of reference to certain facts and works, also on this subject, by Mr. Robinson himself, which lays us under many obligations, not only on account of the information imparted, but the kindness of an exalted and talented stranger, in condescending to impart it. We feel we cannot withhold from the intelligent reader, the facts and views of that excellent letter. To do so, would indeed be doing this cause injustice. And although a part of the same might more properly come in at another time, still we give it here, as the most appropriate place. Mr. Robinson says, in this letter:

"Dear Sir:

"The discussion in the convention of 1787, throws light not only upon the views of the different states, at that time, but also upon their past history. In vol. 2 of the Madison Papers, pp. 1233-4, you will find a clause, reported by the committee of detail, declaring that no tax or duty should be lost by the legislature, on the migration or importation of such persons as the several states should think proper to admit, nor should such migration or importation be prohibited. The debate on this clause is in the third volume, p. 1388 to 1396. *Mr. Luther Martin*, of *Maryland*, proposed to allow a prohibition or tax on the importation of slaves. *Mr. Rutledge* and *Mr. Pinckney*, of *South Carolina*, earnestly opposed this proposition. *South Carolina*, it was said, would never receive the constitution if it prohibited the slave trade. *George Mason*, of *Virginia*, held it essential that the general government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery. 'This infernal traffic,' said he, 'originated in the avarice of British merchants. *The British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it.*' Other remarks were made by him, in which he deprecated the idea that *South Carolina* and *Georgia* should be at liberty to import, and remarks, 'that some of our *eastern brethren* had, from a *lust of gain*, embarked in this nefarious traffic.' *Gen. Pinckney* treated the question as being, whether *South Carolina* should be excluded from the union. *South Carolina* and *Georgia*, he said could not do without slaves. He said 'the royal assent, before the revolution, had never been refused to *South Carolina*, as to *Virginia*.' *Mr. Baldwin*, of *Georgia*, supported the members from *South Carolina*. *Georgia*, he said, 'was deserted on this point.' *Mr. Edmund Randolph*, of *Virginia*, was for committing, in order that some middle ground might, if possible, be found. He would never agree to the clause as it stands. He would sooner risk the constitution. The commitment was ordered, and the report of the committee is p. 1415. They propose to strike out the clause as reported by the committee of detail, and insert—'The migration or importation of such persons as the several states, now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the legislative power, to the year 1800; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such migration or importation, at a rate not exceeding the average of the duties last on imports.' When this report was taken up, *Gen. Pinckney* moved to strike out the words 'the year eighteen hundred,' as the year limiting the importation of slaves, and to insert the words—'the year eighteen hundred and eight.' *Mr. Madison* opposed the motion, but it passed by a vote of seven states in the affirmative, to four in the negative. The states in the affirmative are: *New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina* and *Georgia*. Those in the negative were: *New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware* and *Virginia*. *Mr. Gouverneur Morris* was for making the clause read at once, 'the importation of slaves into *North Carolina, South Carolina* and *Georgia*, shall not be prohibited,' &c. He wished it to

be known that this part of the constitution was in compliance with those states. But some objection being made, he withdrew the motion, and the first part of the report was then agreed to, amended as follows: 'The migration or importation of such persons as the several states, now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the legislature, prior to the year 1808.' The remainder of the clause was so amended as to read—'but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person,' and being thus amended, was agreed to. Sec. 3, pp. 1427 to 1430."*

"I remain yours, with respect and esteem,

"CON. ROBINSON."

We believe that posterity and history will say, that the conduct of Virginia, as herein set forth, taken in connection with her previous and subsequent action on this subject, places her on exalted ground. Who is there, of common abolitionists that would suppose our brethren of the *granite* state, and indeed those in the land of *steady* habits, were the men to carry this point. Slaves had been violently forced on Georgia, and insiduously so on the Carolinas; those states were placed in a condition now to need slave labour, other having been shut out by British tyranny. They desired to have it continued. Virginia resisted—others too resisted. What is to be done? New England comes in and carries the point, and an article is inserted for the continuance of the importation of slaves until 1808, that by their ships the southern market might be supplied; and now, those who did the deed are the first to find fault. It would appear as though the North would now seek to atone for its former participation in slavery, by denouncing in unmeasured terms, not only it, but all who, by the force of circumstances, have had it entailed on them. The ground of all this does appear to be, that such a trade cannot now be rendered *profitable* to them, and to cripple the South, it is said, has been, and probably will continue to be, a part of the northern and eastern policy. The worst of all is, the introduction of such men as Thompson, *the notorious Thompson*, and *Sturge*, from England into this

* The first part of this letter, which refers to other subjects, is omitted. We owe an apology to its talented author for making this extract, and trust he will pardon it.

country, to meddle with our institutions and impudently insult our feelings. This whole nation has heard of, and know the fanaticism of the former; we give from a New England paper, of June 12th, a notice of the latter; in it are plainly set forth the movements of the abolitionists here and in England.

“Our readers are aware that a notorious and violent abolitionist, named JOSEPH STURGE, lately arrived in this country from England, with designs almost as wild and incendiary as the notorious Thompson, and with a determination to do all in his power to break up the ‘domestic institutions’ of the southern states. For this purpose he has been backed up by all the wealth and power of the abolitionists in England, who seem determined to interfere in and destroy, if possible, our social institutions, and set this country in a flame. To effect this, we have reason to believe, this man Sturge has brought large sums of money, and if there was any doubt of his real intentions, the letter addressed by his brother to the ‘London Standard,’ impudently discloses them:

“*To the Editor of the Standard.*

“BIRMINGHAM, May 19.

“Sir: After the manner in which my brother, Joseph Sturge, is mentioned in the Standard of yesterday, I think it but due to him, that you should inform your numerous readers that he is now in the United States, doing all in his power to assist the abolitionists there, and that, if in England, I am sure he would oppose, to the utmost of his ability, *this abominable whig attempt to introduce slave-grown sugar.*

“I am, very respectfully, &c.

“CHARLES STURGE.”

Soon after the arrival of this man here, the abolitionists had a grand meeting and formed a new plan of organization, when they issued the following circular:

“The abolitionists of the city of New York are estimated at between three and four thousand. And whereas, the majority between the two great political parties was shown by the last election to be less than five hundred. It seems beyond all reasonable doubt, if one thousand will come out and stand aloof from their respective parties, and vote for none but true men, they can thus hold the balance of power, and thus compel, at least, the weaker of the two, to put in nomination *true abolitionists*. In view of such results, we have sketched out a plan, subject to be revised, and hereunto annexed. And should you deem the subject worthy of

your support, we earnestly request you and your friends, to enroll your names and places of residence thereto, and forthwith return the same to “Yours respectfully.

“New York, June 1st, 1841.”

This is signed by twenty-three persons:

“G. Wheeler, H. Sedgwick, Thomas Day, Jr., Norman Francis, James E. H. Wallin, Thomas Ritter, James J. Sawyer, James H. French, Asa Parker, N. Southard, W. S. Dorr, C. B. Hatch, Geo. R. Barker, Leonard Gibbs, William Tracy, Alexander Macdonald, Horace Dresser, Asher Atkinson, Anthony Lane, R. G. Williams, George M. Tracy, Joel M. Hubbard, Augustus J. Gillett.”

“PLAN.

“This committee agree to the following rules, subject to such alterations as a majority shall direct:

“1. No person shall sign these articles, except as honorary members, unless he be a voter in the city.

“2. No person shall be bound by any of these articles till one thousand names are hereunto subscribed.

“3. When one thousand names are subscribed, any five members may call a meeting and organize.

“4. It shall be the duty of this committee, when organized, to put in nomination such candidates for important offices, as honest and good citizens can support with an approving conscience. Such, and such only, as will remember the poor and oppressed, who on the theatre of action, will do justice and judgment, ‘and go to the very verge of the constitution and the laws.’ To undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free.

“5. When such nominations are so made, and approved of by a majority, every member shall stand pledged each to the other, in all honour and honesty, to vote for such candidate.”

“It will doubtless be deemed by the people of this country, a very kind and considerate act of this itinerant abolitionist, to put himself to so much trouble to rectify the institutions of this country. But first, it may be as well to state, that Messrs. Joseph and Charles Sturge are two of that odious class of creatures known in England as ‘corn monopolists.’ They began business in the corn monopoly trade about ten years ago, with a very small capital, but by riding half over England, and buying up all the corn they could lay their hands upon, monopolizing on the largest scale which their means would allow, and then holding on to it as long as possible, they would at last sell it out to the *poor white slaves* of England, at

enormous prices, and thus obtain enormous profits. In this way, these two 'corn monopolists' have realized large fortunes. With the sufferings of the poor white labourers of England, they have no sympathy; all their tears and affections are reserved for the negroes of this country. And in furtherance of their impudent plan of disorganization and interference, this *Joseph Sturge* is now at WASHINGTON, using every means in his power to procure the *abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia*. Can it be, that through his influence, this subject was brought up in the house of representatives, the other day, and resulted in favour of the abolitionists? If so, what may be the effect before he gets through with his schemes, it is impossible to say. Of course, as Charles Sturge says, his brother would oppose the measure of the whigs of England, relative to the sugar duties, because they know that such a plan would be a relief to the suffering white population of England; and because, also, the whig ministry, by introducing a bill to abolish the odious corn laws, (so long and loudly demanded by the great body of the people of England,) their monopoly in it would be broken up, and their "occupation gone," so far as relates to their grinding and oppressing the labouring white man. Let the southern delegation in congress look after this Sturge.

"On the subject of these corn and sugar monopolies we find a violent debate lately, in the British parliament, when Lord Palmerston made a direct attack on abolitionism, and we are happy to say, defended the slaveholding states in North America against the insidious attempts of such impudent fanatics as Thompson and Sturge, and their abolition associates. This corn law affects deeply the interests of the United States, and you cannot look in an unconcerned manner, upon the noble struggles and efforts of the aristocratic ridden people of this country, without a sympathy. The debate on the sugar duties, has preceded the discussion on corn, but the two questions proceed from the same principle. The monopolists in sugar have received, as auxiliaries, the *piety party*, and a league appears to be concerted between the *bread-taxers, sugar-taxers, and abolitionists*. Never

was a body of men so flayed as this latter class, or hypocrisy laid so bare as by the effects of this speech from Lord Palmerston, and so fatal have been the shafts of his lordship, that many parties have been induced to withdraw themselves from the *Abolition Society*, in disgust. I need hardly attempt to prove to you, except in the words of Lord Palmerston, the hollow and hypocritical grounds on which the friends of the negro grounded their opposition to an alteration in the duty on slave-grown sugar :

“It was thought, by honorable members opposite, that they had an answer to the argument which had been urged by every body who had spoken from his (the ministerial) side of the house, in the observation that it was one thing to submit to an evil which existed, and that it was another thing to agree to an evil which would be new; and it was contended that because there were slaves in North America, that was no reason why slavery should be created in South America. But would that be an evil which would be new to South America? Did not this country, even now, encourage the labour of slaves in South America, as far as it was possible? Did not Great Britain glut to the utmost, the Brazils with her commodities, and did she not receive in payment, sugar and coffee, all of which was the produce of slave labour? (Hear, hear.) Really,” said the noble lord, “this is the nature and character of our transactions with the Brazils; we can supply you with cotton goods cheaper than you can get them elsewhere. ‘Very well,’ say the Brazilians, ‘we will pay for your commodities with our sugars and coffee.’ If the principle now contended for is to be strictly applied, our answer must be—‘No, we are men of principle and conscience, and cannot ourselves consume the produce of slave labour.’ (Cheers from the ministerial benches.) But does the transaction end here? Do we go to free labour markets to dispose of our manufactures? No such thing. On the contrary, we try to help the Brazilians out of their difficulties, and we say to them—‘Though we cannot consume your produce, because it arises from slave labour, there are the Germans, who are not so conscientious as we are, and to them you can sell your produce for money, which we shall have no scruple to accept for our goods.’ (Cheers and laughter.) To this the Brazilians reply, ‘The Germans do not cross the Atlantic, and we have but few ships of our own by which to convey our produce to them.’ What are we to do? England replies, ‘Oh! we have ships in plenty, and will carry it for you? True it is, that we will not permit your slave-made sugars, or your slave-grown coffee, to appear in our shops, or upon our tables; that is against our consciences, but our ships are different things, and they shall carry your produce.’ (Cheers from the ministerial benches.) Still, however, there remains another difficulty; because it so happens that the Germans are fond

of refined sugar, and the Brazilians tell us they cannot refine it. We again step in and say, 'We will help you; for, besides carrying, we will refine your sugar too. It may be, we say, sinful to consume slave labour sugar, but there is no sin in carrying and refining it.' (Cheers and laughter.) The sugar, accordingly, is refined in this country, and you think we have done. Not a bit. The Brazilians tell us, 'We have more produce than the Germans want: what are we to do?' Again England says, 'We will buy from you produce which it is against our conscience to consume ourselves, but we will send it to distant islands and settlements, where the inhabitants are negroes or colonists, and have no right to the possession of consciences. (Loud cheers and laughter.) It can do them no harm whatever.' (Renewed laughter.) But still further, we told them, that in order to prevent any further difficulty, 'We tell you that when our own grown sugar gets dear in our market, when it reaches a certain price, we will eat your sugar ourselves.' (Loud cheers from the ministerial side of the house.) Although," continued the noble lord, "it might give offence, he must ask, was it not the greatest hypocrisy, now to turn round and call upon the government to forego an arrangement, which would at once tend to the relief of the commerce of the country, and the assistance of its finances, under a pretence so hollow, and a pretext so inconsistent with that which was done every day?" (Loud cheers from the ministerial benches.)

We record here the foregoing letter and speech with the greatest pleasure, because whilst they set forth the true nature and inconsistency of this controversy, it will prepare the way for the following paper, addressed by the Anti-Slavery Society, through this same fanatical corn monopolist and oppressor of the poor. Is it not enough to cause the ears of Americans to tingle, to think that a foreigner should attempt an address such as the following, to the head of this great nation, through the public papers of our own country, when he knows that the President of the United States is solemnly sworn to keep the constitution of it inviolable, and that this constitution does most positively acknowledge slavery, and that he is himself a *slaveholder*. But let the intelligent reader peruse the same and judge for himself, from a copy published in the city of New York, on the 21st June, 1841. The editor says:

"We give to-day one of the most curious and startling letters, emanating from the British Anti-Slavery Society, and addressed to the President of the United States, that ever was attempted in this country by a band of fanatics from a foreign land.

“Mr. Joseph Sturge, by whom the letter has been, or will be presented to the President, is one of the corn monopolists of England, heartily engaged in grinding the face of the poor white slaves of that country, while he impudently and audaciously comes to this country, to scatter firebrands and disunion throughout the land. The following is the letter:—

“ADDRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

“*The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have requested Mr. Joseph Sturge, to present to the President of the United States an address, of which the following is a true copy:—*

“SIR:—As the head of a great number of states, justly valuing their free constitutions and political organization, and tenacious of their rights and their character, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through their esteemed coadjutor and representative, Joseph Sturge, would approach you in behalf of millions of their fellow-men, held in bondage in the United States. Those millions are not only denied the political immunities enjoyed by the citizens of your great republic generally, and the equal privileges, and the impartial protection of the civil law, but are deprived of their personal rights; so that they cease to be regarded and treated, under your otherwise noble institutions, as **MEN**, except in the commission of crime, when the utmost rigour of your penal statutes is invoked against them; and are reduced to the degraded condition of ‘chattels personal’ in the hands of their owners and possessors, to *all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.*

“This is the language and the law of slavery; and upon this law, guarded with jealousy by their political institutions, the slave holders of the South rest their claims to property in man. But, sir, there are claims, anterior to all human laws, and superior to all political institutions which are immutable in their nature—claims which are the birth-right of human beings, of every clime and of every colour—claims which God has conferred, and which man cannot destroy without sacrilege, or infringe without sin. Personal liberty is among these the greatest and the best, for it is the root of all other rights, the conservative principle of human associations, the spring of public virtues, and essential to national strength and greatness.

“The monstrous and wicked assumption of power by man over his fellow-man, which slavery implies, is abhorrent to the moral sense of mankind, to the immutable principles of justice; to the righteous laws of God, and to the benevolent principles of the gospel; it is therefore, indignantly repudiated by the fundamental laws of all truly enlightened and civilized communities; and by none more emphatically than by that over which, sir, it is your honour to preside.

“The great doctrine that ‘God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, and that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,’ is affirmed in your Declaration of Independence, and justified in the theory of your constitutional laws. But there is a stain upon your glory. Slavery, in its most abject and revolting form, pollutes your soil; the wailings of slaves mingle with your songs of liberty, and the clank of their chains is heard in horrid discord with the chorus of your triumphs.

“The records of your states are not less distinguished by their wise provisions for securing the order, and maintaining the institutions of your country, than by their ingenious devices for rivetting the chains, and perpetuating the degradation of your coloured brethren. Their education is branded as a crime against the state; their freedom is dreaded as a blasting pestilence; the bare suggestion of their emancipation is proscribed as treason to the cause of American independence.

“These things are uttered in sorrow; for the committee deeply deplore the flagrant inconsistency so daringly displayed, between the lofty principles embodied in the great charter of your liberties, and the evil practices which have been permitted to grow up under it, to mar its beauty and impair its strength.

“But it is not on these grounds alone, or chiefly, that they deplore the existence of slavery in the United States. Manifold as are the evils which flow from it, dehumanizing as are its tendencies, fearful as its re-action confessedly is on its supporters, the reproach of its existence does not terminate in the institutions which give it birth. The sublime principles and benign spirit of christianity are dishonoured by it. In the light of divine truth it stands revealed in all its hideous deformity, a **CRIME AGAINST GOD**, a daring usurpation of the prerogative and authority of the Most High. It is a violation of his righteous laws, an outrage on his glorious attributes, a renunciation of the claims of his blessed gospel, that they especially deplore the continuance and support it receives among you, and, in the spirit of christian love and fraternal solicitude, they would counsel its immediate and complete overthrow, as a solemn and imperative duty, the performance of which no sordid reasons should be permitted to retard, and no political considerations to prevent. Slavery is a sin against God, and ought, therefore, to be abolished.

“The utter extinction of slavery, and its sister abomination, the internal slave trade—second only in horror and extent in the United States to the African, and in some of its features even more revolting—can be urged by the philanthropists of this country only, on the abstract principles of moral and religious duty, and to those principles the people of your great republic are pledged on the side of freedom, beyond every nation of the world.

“The negro, by nature our equal, made like ourselves in the image of his Creator, gifted with the same intelligence, impelled by the same passions, and redeemed by the same Saviour, is reduced

by cupidity and oppression below the level of the brute ; spoiled of his humanity, plundered of his rights, and often hurried to a premature grave, the miserable victim of avarice and heedless tyranny ! Men have presumptuously dared to wrest from their fellows the most precious of their rights—to intercept, as far as they can, the bounty and grace of the Almighty—to close the door of their intellectual progress—to shut every avenue to their moral and religious improvement—to stand between them and their Maker ! It is against this crime that the committee protest, as men and as christians ; and they earnestly and respectfully call upon you, sir, to use the highest power with which you are invested, to bring it to a peaceful and speedy close.

“May you, in closing your public career, and in the latest hours of your existence on earth, be consoled with the reflection, that you have not despised the afflictions of the afflicted ; but that, faithful to the trust of your high stewardship, you have been ‘just, ruling in the fear of God’—that you have executed judgment for the oppressed, and have aided in the deliverance of your country from its greatest crime, and its chief reproach !

“Signed on behalf of the committee,

“THOMAS CLARKSON.

“LONDON, May 8th, 1841.”

“It is evident from this and from other movements, that the British Anti-Slavery Society has organized a vast system of agitation, to destroy the union of this republic, because its influence, prosperity and power, interfere with the corn monopolies in England, and their East Indian cotton operations throughout the world. Of late a general agitation has broken out among the abolitionists in the northern states, and we have no doubt that the British Anti-Slavery Society contribute their money, as they do their impudence, through their agent Sturge, by the large hogshead, to bring about their purposes in this happy land. Even women have taken up the trade of agitators, and are busy in the business.

“It will be time soon for the friends of the union of this glorious republic to come to a distinct point—a positive stand-still on this subject. It will be treason to the union—treason to the constitution—treason to civilization, to permit these impudent men from Exeter Hall, to import their doctrines into this land. Let us think on it.”

Facts are stubborn things. We wish to deal in facts, and therefore have laid before our readers this last paper, in order to convince them that foreigners are linked with abolitionists to force the country, that it may aid to force the South to yield the point, and overwhelm itself in utter ruin.

PART VII.

AS ABOLITIONISM IMMEDIATE, DIRECT AND INDISCRIMINATE, IS NOT THE JUST, THE NATURAL, AND SAFE REMEDY AGAINST THE EVIL OF SLAVERY, THE QUESTION ARISES WHAT IS THAT REMEDY? THAT QUESTION ANSWERED ACCORDING TO THE ADVICE OF OUR FATHERS,—THE LIGHTS OF HISTORY AND THE ALMOST UNIVERSAL WISH OF THE SLAVE-HOLDING STATES. THAT THE REMEDY WHICH WE PROPOSE IS JUST, IS NATURAL, IS SAFE, IS PRACTICABLE, AND PROMISES, FROM PAST EXPERIENCE, IMMENSE ADVANTAGES TO THE COLOURED POPULATION OF THIS COUNTRY AND THE SAVAGE TRIBES OF AFRICA.

It will doubtless be charged from what we have said, upon the south, that it is so wedded to slavery, as to feel no desire that posterity at least should be saved from the evils of it. We say *evils*, for although we do not make a list, as long and as dark as that of Dr. C. in his list of “the evils of slavery;” yet, we believe that slavery has its evils, and so have the other relations and conditions of human life. These are not, *in our estimation*, under the circumstances, “moral evil.” Understand us. Do not be startled! We repeat, we believe slavery is attended by many and sore evils, to the slave, to the owner, and this our country, in which they reside; but, under the circumstances, which attended the introduction of slavery into the United States, and those attendant on its existence as an institution of the country made so by violence, by British tyranny, we believe, it is not a “moral evil,” in other words, an actual sin, to hold or own slaves. Let us explain ourselves. We believe that it would be a sin for us or any man to visit the shores of Africa, and kidnap persons and sell them into slavery.

And, therefore, that the English, who were accustomed to steal or cause them to be stolen, and sell African slaves and Indians, into American and other colonies, committed a crime for which God will judge them. We believe that all the *preaching*, and all the *canting* of our northern and eastern brethren, about the wickedness of southern slavery, will never wash out the deep, black guilt of their fathers, for kidnapping and selling Indians and Africans into slavery. But we also believe, that as these slaves were forced by positive enactment on the south, and notwithstanding southern resistance, were quartered on it to build up and support British and New England power, it is not a *sin*, it is not a "moral evil," although there may be *many* and *sore* evils, in the southern people's retaining them in bondage until they can have them removed, *if they choose so to do*, with safety and with convenience to themselves and the slaves, to some situation adapted to the true nature and condition of the African race. Prisoners of war are sometimes quartered on towns. Suppose some feeling citizens, *men, women and children*, should say, "Poor creatures, what an evil to be in bondage, they are in distress and degradation, turn them loose." Suppose persons of another town should begin to preach about the "iniquity of retaining them in their present condition," until they could be safely removed. Suppose the very persons who quartered them there, should begin to plead the wretchedness of the prisoners and the wickedness of the townsmen, who do not consent that hundreds of persons shall be turned loose, to prey upon the very vitals of society, and sap the foundations of all orders and government, if not of life itself. What would you think, what would you say? Let the sons of Massachusetts—the descendants of the pilgrims, look for the answer in the conduct of their fathers, to the poor old men, the women and children of the Narraganset tribe, or if they choose to go a little farther, to the destruction and slavery of the Pokonakets—the Massasoit family, and the Pequod tribe. Heavens! How it chills our blood to read of the cruelty toward the poor old men, and women, and children of

the Narragansett tribe. We give it in the plain, honest and truthful language of their own excellent historian, Mr. Bancroft: "It was resolved to regard the Narragansetts as enemies, and a little before winter solstice, a thousand men levied by the united" i. e. New England "colonies, and commanded by the brave Jonah Winslow, a *native New England* man, invaded their territory. After a night spent in the open air, they waded through the snow," &c. "Nothing could check their determined valour; and the group of Indian cabins was set on fire. Then was swept away the humble glory of the Narragansetts, the winter's stores of the tribes, their curiously wrought baskets full of corn, their famous strings of wampum, their wigwams nicely lined with mats,—all the little comforts of savage life were consumed. *And more, their old men, their women, their babes perished by hundreds in the fire.* Then indeed was the cup of misery full for these red men, who without shelter, and without food, hid themselves in a cedar swamp, with no defence against the cold, but boughs of ever-green trees. They prowled the forests and *pawed* up the snow, to gather nuts and acorns; they dug the earth for ground-nuts, they ate remnants of horse flesh as a luxury, they sunk down from feebleness and want of food." This was the condition of the poor Indians whom the sons of the *pilgrim fathers sought to enslave*, and to whom the brave CONONCHET, that did not droop under such, the overwhelming sufferings of his tribe, exclaimed, "We will fight to the last man rather than become slaves to the English." To the haughty young Blackstone, who questioned him, he replied, "You do not understand war, I will answer your chief." "We have nothing to lose, you have burned *our all*, in seeking to kidnap and enslave them." "The Indians will not yield, we will fight these twenty years." "I like death well, I shall die before I speak any thing unworthy of myself." Thus were the Indians slaughtered, in that attempt to make them slaves: and with a slaughter far more destructive, bloody and vile, than that of the white man at the renowned "Bloody Brook."* And well may it be said, "Physician, heal thyself."

* See Bancroft's King Phillip's War, pages 104, 105, &c. vol. 2,—and Everett's Address at Bloody Brook, p. 37.

To proceed, we say, whilst it is not a sin to retain in bondage these slaves quartered on our fathers and us, by others, there are evils connected with their being amongst us, and it is a solemn duty we owe them, ourselves, and our posterity, to do what we can by those means, that *are not coercive*, to remedy this evil, and better their condition, as well as our own, by their removal as they become free. But how may this be done? What is the remedy? We answer, promptly and honestly, colonization on the coast of Africa. This was the opinion of our fathers, and subsequent events have proved the wisdom of that opinion. We have alluded to those laws passed by the colonial assembly of Virginia, their solemn protests and those of the Carolinas and Georgia, against the introduction of African slaves into their colonies. We have seen the resistance of the British government to their legislating on, or touching this question at all, but this did not stop that opposition, they resisted as firmly as ever, and at the adoption of the constitution of the United States of America, we find Virginia, and other states, continue that resistance, whilst Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire voted for the prolongation of the trade. South Carolina and Georgia were peculiarly situated. Having had slavery forced on them originally they were absolutely driven from the nature of their condition to have labourers or yield up their farms. We believe that Carolina and Georgia did not then, any more than *formerly* or *now* desire to protract the slave trade by the removal of slaves from Africa, but the citizens thereof under the old regimen had entered into contracts for lands, had been induced so to do, by the act of Great Britain, respecting slaves, and under these circumstances its continuance was considered necessary, until those arrangements and contracts were completed. We do not say, that this was right, but we know that the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire came in to aid them, and by that assistance the trade was prolonged until 1808.

We must also premise another thing. Slaves being private property, none have the right to vote away the same without ample remuneration. Even the British

government has admitted this principle, and therefore paid the planters of Jamaica \$100,000,000, at so much *per head*, for their slaves. When, therefore, by the will of the people, either individually or collectively, slaves are *freed*, the next question is, what ought to be done with them? We have proved that to be free here, is to entail on them and their posterity, unceasing wretchedness, and to do our country an injury not to be easily if ever repaired. As we have lived in the vicinity of Mount Vernon, formerly the residence and now the burial place of General WASHINGTON, the Father of his Country, we are prepared to say, from our own knowledge, that all the benefits resulting from the Mount Vernon estate, as a component part of Fairfax county in Virginia, in which it is situated, can never counterbalance the injury done to that county, by turning loose, *setting free, as it is called*, scores of negroes to prowl about of a night as beasts of the forest, to murder and rob the traveller, and to live as hundreds of the citizens of that county and Alexandria know, in poverty, misery, and want continually. Those citizens generally have considered their freedom as a curse to themselves and society. Other similar instances we could name. Now, colonization proposes to send the free coloured population home to Africa. This was the original plan of our fathers. It also proposes to send all those whom their masters, or mistresses, desire to free. To expose the views we have on this subject, we give, first, an outline of that plan suggested by Mr. Jefferson and the Virginia legislature, the adoption of the plan in the formation of the Colonization Society, and the success with which that plan has been carried out. And to do this the more concisely and effectually, we propose to make quotations from certain documents and reports, &c. with some little variation, chiefly collected by Rev. Mr. McKenny, and submit them for the inspection of the candid and impartial reader.

For many years antecedent to the organization of the American Colonization Society in the City of Washington, in the year 1817, there were no questions of a domestic character more solemnly pondered, in many instances, devoutly examined, than the following, viz:

What shall be done with our free coloured population? How shall we fairly and righteously dispose of them, and of such of our slaves as may hereafter, from time to time, become free? These important questions were not the result of fanatical deliberations upon the feasibility of incorporating them into the body politic of the nation; this wild and extravagant notion was reserved, as it would seem, for the action of a new set of men—men unknown, and unheard of in those days, when the patriots of the revolution, having achieved the independence for which they fought and bled, were zealously employed in arranging and classifying those great principles, which constitute the bond, and the strength of the present union of the states. The political and domestic evils of a mixed population were foreseen as early as 1772. In that year the House of Burgesses of Virginia, inspired with a just abhorrence of the difficulties, perplexities, and dangers it would entail upon their posterity, unanimously agreed upon an address to the King of Great Britain, praying him to remove those restraints on the governors of the colonies, which inhibited them from assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce. The following copy of that address will give to the present generation, a just view of the noble and patriotic feelings of many of their progenitors. ‘The importation of slaves into the colony, from the coast of Africa, has long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity: and its encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your majesty’s American dominions. ‘We are sensible that some of your majesty’s subjects in Great Britain, may reap emolument from this sort of traffic, but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more white inhabitants, and may in time have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects.’ In about four years after the passage of this patriotic address, the war of the revolution commenced. In one year after its formal commencement, viz: in 1777, while clouds of thick and al-

most Egyptian darkness hung over the prospects of the noble land of patriots, who had resolved to be free, or die in the attempt, we find Thomas Jefferson, the author of the declaration of American Independence, turning his attention to the coloured population of his country, and bringing his *Herculean mind* to act upon the questions. 'What shall be done with our free coloured population? How shall we dispose of them and of such of our slaves, as may hereafter, from time to time, become free?' Unlike some who have subsequently, and within but a short time past, entertained the same, and no doubt, as it regards many of them, with the kindest feelings towards the blacks;—he never dreamed of an amalgamation: he never admitted the possibility of incorporating them as a part and portion of the free citizens of the country into the body politic of the union. But, he was nevertheless equally kind in his feelings towards them, and a thousand fold more consistent in his views and action under those feelings;—for he proposed colonization, as the only practicable mode of placing them in a state of national independence. The particulars of this plan cannot now be given, and neither is it necessary to the purpose of this 'brief statement of facts,' &c. that they should be stated. It is enough to answer the writer's object to be able to state, upon the most unquestionable authority, that Mr. Jefferson did canvass the whole subject, and after the maturest deliberation upon all its various bearings, and intricate, and difficult relations, did come to the conclusion that colonization, and colonization alone, could meet, and successfully, fairly, and righteously, dispose of all the difficulties growing out of the presence, and increase of such a population in the United States. In 1787, Dr. Thomas Thornton, adopting Mr. Jefferson's idea of colonization, as the only possible mode of conferring upon the free people of colour of the United States, and their posterity, all the rights, privileges, immunities, franchises, powers and offices of freemen, formed a plan for establishing a colony on the coast of Africa, and published an address to the people of colour residing in Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, inviting them to accompany him thither. A sufficient number agreed to go,

and were prepared for the expedition, but the project failed for want of the necessary funds.

In 1800 and 1801, the legislature of Virginia, being deeply and solemnly impressed with a sense of the indispensable necessity of seeking some mode of relief, from the increasing domestic evils produced by the rapid increase of her coloured population, determined, in secret session, to make an appeal to the President of the United States, and "urge him to institute negotiations with some of the European powers, possessed of colonies on the coast of Africa, to grant an asylum to which our emancipated negroes might be sent." The result of this application to the President of the United States, led to a correspondence on his part, with the Sierra Leone Company, of London, and the government of Portugal, each of whom refused to permit the introduction of coloured people from the United States, into their respective governments. Mr. Jefferson's letter, written some years after, to John Lynd, upon this subject, is so comprehensive and clear, and so demonstrative of our own views, and of the splendid moral effects that would be produced by the system of African colonization, that we feel bound to insert it in this place. It is as follows:

Copy of a letter from THOMAS JEFFERSON, late President of the United States, to John Lynd.

"SIR:—You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Ann Mifflin, to take measures for procuring on the coast of Africa, an establishment, to which the people of colour of these states, might, from time to time, be colonized under the auspices of different governments. Having long ago made up my mind on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have ever thought that the most desirable measure which could be adopted, for gradually drawing off this part of our population—most advantageous for themselves, as well as for us—going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa, and thus carry back to the country of their origin the seeds of civilization, which might render their

sojournment here, a blessing in the end to that country. I received, the last year of my entering into the administration of the general government, a letter from the governor of Virginia, consulting me, at the request of the legislature of the state, on the means of procuring some *asylum*, to which these people might be occasionally sent. I proposed to him the establishment of Sierra Leone, in which a private company in England had already colonized a number of negroes, and particularly the fugitives from these states during the revolutionary war; and at the same time suggested, if that could not be obtained, some of the Portuguese possessions in South America, as most desirable. The subsequent legislature approving these ideas, I wrote the ensuing year (1802) to Mr. King, our minister in London, to endeavour to negotiate with the Sierra Leone Company, and induce them to receive such of these people as might be colonized thither. He opened a correspondence with Mr. W——, and Mr. Thornton, on the subject, and in 1803, I received, through Mr. King, the result, which was that the colony was going on in but a languishing condition—that the funds of the company were likely to fail, as they received no return of profit to keep them up; that they were then in treaty with the government to take the establishment off their hands; but that in no event would they be willing to receive more of these people from the United States, as it was that portion of settlers who had gone from the United States, who, by their *idleness* and *turbulence*, had kept the settlement in constant danger of dissolution, which could not have been prevented, but for the aid of the maroon negroes from the West Indies, who were more industrious and orderly than the others, and supported the authority of the government and its laws. I think I learned afterwards, that the British government had taken the colony into their own hands, and I believe it still exists. The effort which I made with Portugal to obtain an establishment from them, within their colonies in South America, proved also abortive. You inquired further, whether I would use my endeavours to procure such an establishment, secure against violence from other powers, and particularly the French. Certainly I shall be willing

to do any thing I can, to give it effect and safety. But I am but a private individual, and could only use exertions with individuals; whereas, the national government can address themselves at once to those of Europe, to obtain the desired securities, and will unquestionably be ready to exert its influence with those nations, to effect an object so benevolent in itself, and so important to a great portion of its constituents. Indeed nothing is more to be desired, than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa. Exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it, might defray all its expenses—but for this the national mind is not prepared. It may perhaps be doubted, whether many of these people would voluntarily consent to such an exchange of situation, and but few of those, who are advanced to a certain age in habits of slavery, would be capable of governing themselves. This should not, however, discourage the experiment, nor the early trial of it. And propositions should be made with all the prudent caution requisite to reconcile it to the interest, the safety, and prejudice of all parties.

“Accept the assurance of my respect and esteem.

“THOMAS JEFFERSON.”

For the purpose of keeping up the continuity of the “facts” in relation to African colonization, it is proper here to remark, that “colonization in Africa, with reference to civilization, appears to have been contemplated in England as early as 1775, or at the farthest in 1780. A definite plan was projected by Dr. H. Smeathman, who had passed some years in Africa, in his letters to Dr. Knowles, in 1783. The first removal to Sierra Leone was in 1787. The people from Nova Scotia, who had been slaves in the United States, but who absconded during the revolutionary war, were removed 1791, and the maroons from Jamaica, it is believed, in 1805. The liberations from slave ships on the ocean, and on the coast, and in the rivers of Africa, have been wholly, since the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. The colony was supported by the Sierra Leone Company until 1808,

when it was taken under the patronage of the British government. It is now in a flourishing condition." But to return to the progress of the cause in our own country. It would seem from Mr. Jefferson's letter, that the result of his application to the Sierra Leone Company, of London, and the government of Portugal, was not known until 1803. From that period to 1816, there seems to have been no legislative arraignment, or expression of public opinion on the subject. A death-like silence and stillness seem to have ensued. But in 1816, after the lapse of thirteen years, the subject was again revived—not at the fire-side only, nor in the neighbourhood circles—but in the legislative halls of one of the old thirteen states. The lapse of thirteen years had increased the difficulties with which the subject was encumbered, while the evils which had been sought to be remedied, instead of being mitigated by the years that had passed away since it was last legislatively pondered, had increased and gathered additional strength. The venomous fangs thereof were spreading wider and wider, and all the while taking a deeper and firmer root. A distinguished Virginia orator, still living, and active in the cause of his country, and his country's weal, thus speaks in an address upon the subject. "The rapid increase of the free people of colour, by which their number was extended in the ten years preceding the last census of the United States, from fifteen to thirty thousand, if it has not endangered our peace, has impaired the value of private property in a large section of our country. Upon our low lands," said Mr. Mercer, "it seems as if some malediction had been shed—the habitations of our fathers have sunk into ruins; the fields which they tilled have become a wilderness. Such is the table lands between the valleys of our great rivers. Those newly grown and almost impenetrable thickets which have succeeded a wretched cultivation, shelter and conceal a wretched banditti, consisting of this degraded, idle, and vicious population, who sally forth from their coverts, beneath the obscurity of the night, and plunder the rich proprietors of the valleys. They infest the suburbs of the towns and cities, where they become the *depositaries of stolen goods*, and schooled

by necessity, elude the vigilance of our defective police." This state of things, graphically described in the quotation above, instead of checking the spirit of "African colonization," seems to have given it an additional impulse. Hence we find the subject—the whole subject—before the legislature of Virginia, in open session in 1816. The following resolution was then submitted, canvassed, discussed, bored through and through, and after all this searching operation, it passed the popular branch, with but nine dissenting voices out of one hundred and forty-six, and a full quorum of the senate, with but one! "Whereas, the general assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum, beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of colour as had been, or might be emancipated under the laws of this commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success; they now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the government of the United States in abolishing the African slave trade, (a trade which this commonwealth, both before and since the revolution, zealously sought to terminate,) to renew this effort. And do therefore resolve, That the executive be requested to correspond with the president of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place, not within any of the territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth. And that the senators and representatives in the congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the president of the United States in the attainment of the above objects; provided, that no contract or arrangement for such territory shall be obligatory on this commonwealth, until ratified by the legislature."

By one of those remarkable coincidences, which never fail to impress deep upon the thoughtful mind, the consoling doctrine of an all-wise and overruling Providence,

whose purposes of mercy are commensurate to the wants and miseries of mankind ; it seems to have been so ordered, that while the foregoing preamble and resolutions of the legislature of Virginia, were in discussion, before that body, the untiring friends of the great measure, so long thought of, but never fairly embodied, were, without previous concert, wending their way from the different states of the union, to the seat of the general government, and among them, was the late Rev. Dr. Robert Findley, of New Jersy. This gentleman had devoted much of his time to the consideration of African colonization. He felt confident that it was practicable to establish a colony of free blacks in their fatherland. He sympathized deeply with them in their degraded condition here, and regarded it to be incurable, so long as they should remain in the United States. Motives of kindness to them, considerations of the most comprehensive christian charity to the native African race, and a due regard to the internal peace and future prosperity of his own country, moved him to an interchange of views, with the intelligent and patriotic citizens of the District of Columbia, and others, then in Washington City, from almost every state and territory of the United States. It was unanimously agreed by them, to call a public meeting, for the purpose of discussing the propriety, the expediency, and practicability of this great measure, which had been for so long a time an object of so much solicitude to the patriot, the christian, and the philanthropist. A meeting was called, and held in one of the large rooms of Brown's hotel, on Pennsylvania avenue. The honorable HENRY CLAY, speaker of the house of representatives of the congress of the United States, was called to the chair, and THOMAS DOUGHERTY, esq. clerk of the house, was appointed secretary.

"In presenting the subject to the consideration of the meeting, the honourable chairman, after noticing the various schemes and plans that had been thought of, to better the condition of the free people of colour, of the United States, came out with a decided preference for some part of the coast of Africa as the most suitable theatre upon which to carry out the wishes and purposes of

their friends. ‘There,’ said he, ‘ample provision might be made for the colony itself, and it might be rendered instrumental to the introduction, into that extensive quarter of the globe, of the arts, civilization, and christianity. There was a peculiar, a moral fitness in restoring them to the land of their fathers. And if, instead of the evils and sufferings which we have been the *innocent cause* of inflicting upon the inhabitants of Africa, we can transmit to her the blessings of our arts, our civilization, and our religion, may we not hope that America will extinguish a great portion of that moral debt which she has contracted to that unfortunate continent.’ He then proceeded to encourage the meeting to attempt the enterprise, by the success which had attended the British colony of Sierra Leone. ‘We have,’ said he, ‘their example before us, and can there be a nobler cause than that, which, while it purposed to rid our own country of a *useless* and *pernicious*, if not *dangerous* portion of its population, contemplates the spreading of the arts of civilized life, and the possible redemption from ignorance and barbarism of a benighted quarter of the globe.’

Mr. CLAY was followed by ELIAS B. CALDWELL, of the District of Columbia, who, in a most able speech, demonstrated the expediency of the measure—the necessity of early attempting it—and the certainty of success. The Hon. JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke, followed Mr. Caldwell, and after dwelling, in his usual clear and forcible manner, upon the wisdom displayed by the friends of the cause, in omitting to “touch, in the smallest degree, another very important and delicate question,” gave to the scheme his approbation. “In a worldly point of view, then,” said he, “without entering into the general question, and apart from those higher and nobler motives which had been presented to the meeting, the owners of slaves were interested in providing a retreat for this part of our population. There was no fear that this proposition would alarm them; they had been accustomed to think seriously of the subject; there was a popular work on agriculture, by JOHN TAYLOR, of Caroline, which was widely circulated and much confided in, in Virginia. In that book, much read, because coming from a practical man,

this description of people were pointed out as a *great evil*. If a place could be provided for their reception, and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay, thousands, of citizens who would, by *manumitting* their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession." The honourable ROBERT WRIGHT, of Maryland, said "he could not withhold his approbation of a measure that had for its object the melioration of the lot of any portion of the human race, particularly of the free people of colour, whose *degraded state* robs them of the happiness of self-government, so dear to the American people." Mr. Caldwell then submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were *unanimously* adopted:

"The situation of the free people of colour in the United States has been the subject of anxious solicitude with many of our most distinguished citizens, from the first existence of our country as an independent nation; but the great difficulty and embarrassment attending the establishment of an infant nation, when first struggling into existence, and the subsequent convulsions of Europe, have hitherto prevented any great national effort to provide a remedy for the evils existing, or apprehended. The present period seems peculiarly auspicious to invite attention to this important subject, and gives a well grounded hope of success—the nations of Europe are hushed into peace—unexampled efforts are making in various parts of the world to diffuse knowledge, civilization, and the benign influence of the christian religion—the rights of man are becoming daily better understood—the legitimate objects of government, as founded for the benefit, and intended for the happiness of man, are more generally acknowledged, and an ardent zeal for the happiness of the human race is kindled in almost every heart. Desirous of aiding in the great cause of philanthropy, and of promoting the prosperity and happiness of our country, it is recommended by this meeting to form an association, or society, for the purpose of giving aid, and assisting in the colonization of the free people of colour in the United States—therefore,

"Resolved, That an association or society be founded

for the purpose of collecting information of a plan for the colonization of the free people of colour, with their consent, in Africa, or elsewhere, as may be thought advisable by the constituted authorities of the country.

Resolved, That Elias B. Caldwell, John Randolph, Richard Rush, Walter Jones, Francis S. Key, Robert Wright, James H. Blake, and John Peter, be a committee to present a respectful memorial to congress, requesting them to adopt such measures as may be thought most advisable for procuring a territory in Africa, or elsewhere, suitable for the colonization of the free people of colour.

Resolved, That Francis S. Key, Bushrod Washington, Elias B. Caldwell, James Breckenridge, Walter Jones, Richard Rush, and W. G. D. Worthington, be a committee to prepare a constitution and rules for the government of the association or society above mentioned, and report the same to the next meeting for consideration.

"The meeting then adjourned to meet again on Saturday, 28th December, in the hall of the house of representatives.

"HENRY CLAY, Chairman.

"THOMAS DOUGHERTY, Secretary."

An adjourned meeting was held in the hall of the house of representatives of the United States, on Saturday the 28th December, at which meeting a constitution for the society was presented, discussed, and adopted—and this grand enterprise, so long thought of, and so ardently laboured after, was ushered forth under the name and style of "The American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States;"—and on Wednesday, January 1st, 1817, the society met, and elected the following officers:

The Hon. BUSHROD WASHINGTON, President.

Vice-Presidents: Hon. William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Hon. William Phillips, of Massachusetts, Hon. John E. Howard, of Maryland, Hon. Samuel Smith, of Maryland, Hon. John C. Herbert, of Maryland, Col. Henry Rutgers, of New York, John Taylor, Esq. of Caroline, Virginia, Gen. Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Robert Ralston, Esq., Richard Rush,

Esq., both of Pennsylvania, Gen. John Mason, District of Columbia. Rev. Robert Findley, of New Jersey.

Managers—Francis S. Key, John Laird, Rev. S. B. Balch, James H. Blake, Edmund I. Lee, Jacob Hoffman, Walter Jones, Rev. James Laurie, Rev. O. B. Brown, John Peter, William Thornton, Henry Carroll.

E. B. Caldwell, *Secretary*; W. G. Worthington, *Recording Secretary*; David English, *Treasurer*.

“The society being thus organized, and patronized by some of the most distinguished citizens of the United States, the board of managers and other officers who were charged with the execution of the preparatory measures, were soon apprised that some public spirited individuals, honestly doubting the practicability of securing a suitable territory in Africa, would not aid the cause until the success of this measure should be clearly ascertained. They also found a number of others who doubted, even if a territory were secured, whether the free people of colour of the United States, would under any circumstances, ever consent to leave the places of their nativity, for the purpose of seeking a new home, in a foreign land, among uncultivated strangers; if they should consent to go, it was deemed impossible for them, from their previous habits, to govern themselves. Hence the whole scheme was ridiculed by many, who called its advocates *Utopians*, amiable enthusiasts, and Quixotic adventurers. But ‘none of these things moved’ the noble patrons and advocates of this great cause, from their high and holy purpose, to give a country and a home to a large portion of the degraded population of the United States. They acted upon the principle ‘that scarcely any thing—nothing is beyond the power of those who, in the pursuit of a just purpose, approved by good men, and sanctioned by Providence, boldly and resolutely determine to command success.’ In less than one year after the organization of the society, we find two distinguished citizens, eminently qualified for the important trust, on their passage to Africa, with instructions to explore the western coast of that continent, and to collect such information as might assist the government of the United States in selecting a suitable district of country there, for the proposed settlement.

In the same year the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, formed societies auxiliary to the benign objects of the parent institution, and it is a cause of just pride to Maryland, that her citizens in Baltimore, contributed in January, 1818, \$3,453, to aid in the preparatory measures of this great enterprise. Many other important societies were formed in other parts of the state, and in other states both in the north and south. In view of these cheering presages, we find the venerable president of the parent society, thus closing his first anniversary address to its members: 'In the magnificent plans now carrying on for the improvement and happiness of mankind, in many parts of the world, we can but discern the interposition of that Almighty Power, who alone could inspire and crown with success these great purposes. But among them all, there is, perhaps, none upon which we may more confidently implore the blessing of heaven, than that in which we are now associated. Whether we consider the grandeur of the object, and the wide sphere of philanthropy which it embraces, or whether we view the present state of its progress, under the auspices of this society, and under the obstacles which might have been expected from the cupidity of many, we may discover in each, a certain pledge that the same benignant hand which has made these preparatory arrangements, will crown our efforts with success. Having, therefore, these motives of piety to consecrate and strengthen the powerful considerations which a wise policy suggests, we may, I trust, confidently rely upon the public for the necessary means of effecting this highly interesting object.'

"How must his pious and patriotic heart have been gladdened, and how must his faith in the truth of his doctrine 'of reliance upon the benignant hand of Providence,' have been strengthened, when he read the following resolution, which unanimously passed the legislature of Maryland, in January, 1818: 'By the house of delegates, January 26, 1818: Resolved unanimously, that the governor be requested to communicate to the president of the United States, and to our senators and representatives in congress, the opinion of this general assembly:

that a wise and provident policy suggests the expediency, on the part of our national government, of procuring through negociation, by cession or purchase, a tract of country on the western coast of Africa, for the colonization of the free people of colour of the United States.

‘LOUIS GASSAWAY, Clerk.’

“The state of Tennessee passed a similar resolution—and, including Virginia, the *first* state which legislated upon the subject, thirteen others have subsequently followed their example. While the society was zealously promoting the preliminary measures, necessary to command success at home, it was not indifferent to the obstructions existing on the coast of Africa, produced by the almost universal legitimation of the slave trade. The nations of Europe had for centuries, regarded the African race as objects of fair mercantile speculation, and although Great Britain and the United States had formally proscribed it, and the latter, as early as 1808, it was still carried on by the subjects and citizens of each government, and those of France, Spain and Portugal, to an unprecedented extent, both as it regarded the number of the victims of this wretched trade, and the savage cruelties inflicted on them by their captors. To avert this foul traffic—to render its pursuit more difficult and hazardous, the society memorialized congress to pass an act declaring its true character to be piracy. In the report of the committee of the house of representatives of the United States, on the memorial of the president and board of managers of the American society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, we find the following language: “Referring to the memorial itself, and to the report of the committee on the slave trade, to the fourteenth congress, your committee beg leave to add, that a new interest has been recently inspired to the benevolent enterprise of the memorialists, by the prospect of a speedy termination of that odious traffic, which has been so long the crime of Europe, the scourge of Africa, and the affliction and disgrace of America. Spain and Portugal have at length concurred in that just and humane policy of the United States, which Great Britain was the first to imitate, and which, by her liberal and

unremitting zeal, she has successfully extended throughout the civilized world. So far as the civilization of Africa, the victim of this inhuman traffic, is embraced among the views of the memorialists, the removal of this formidable impediment to their success, is calculated to elevate the hopes of the philanthropist, and to secure to their enterprise a larger share of public confidence. America cannot but sympathise in the wish to redeem from ignorance, barbarism and superstition, a continent of such extent, spread out beneath every clime, embracing every variety of soil, and inhabited by a much injured and degraded portion of the human race." The committee then proceed to notice "a yet stronger incentive to recommend this enterprise to the countenance and favour of the house, from considerations peculiar to the United States." Then referring to the report presented to the last congress, they say: "They cannot, however, forbear to remark, that time is unceasingly aggravating all those domestic evils, for which the memorialists propose *the only competent remedy*, and that the most auspicious circumstances conspire at present to promote its successful application."

On the 3d of March, 1818, the congress of the United States passed an act, entitled "An act in addition to the acts prohibiting the slave trade." By that act, the president of the United States was fully authorized and empowered, whenever he might deem it expedient, to direct the armed vessels of the United States to cruise on the coast of the United States, and on the coast of Africa, and to seize, take, and bring into any port of the United States, all ships or vessels, owned in part, or in whole, by citizens, or residents in the United States, "which may have taken on board, or which may be intended for the purpose of taking on board, or of transporting, or may have transported any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, in violation of the provisions of the acts of congress, prohibiting the slave trade, to be proceeded against according to law." The act also allowed a just and equitable bonus to the officers and men of the United States' navy, who might succeed in capturing vessels, or ships, owned by citizens, or residents in the United States, engaged, or

preparing to engage in the African slave trade. It furthermore provided, for the reception and maintenance in the United States, of all re-captured Africans, until such time as they might, or could be restored to their own country. And to expedite a measure so just in itself, and as such, in accordance with the benign maxims and principles of christianity, conferred upon the president of the United States, the power to appoint one or more suitable persons, to reside on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of receiving, sheltering, feeding, clothing, and protecting, for a limited time, all Africans so re-captured. The construction given to that act by the then president of the United States, (the late amiable and excellent JAMES MONROE,) was such as brought the general government into a friendly collateral alliance with the society, and one of its objects, which was the utter annihilation of the African slave trade.

The establishment on the coast of Africa, of a United States' agency, for the benevolent purposes set forth in the act referred to, could not, as it was then well and truly believed, fail to attract the favourable notice of foreign nations, and produce among them, as well as among the citizens of the United States, a deeper and more abiding interest in behalf of the long neglected and abused inhabitants of that continent. Without such an appointment it would have been the madness of folly to have attempted the establishment of a colony on the coast, for it was then lined with slavers, all of whom would have united, to a man, to crush in its infancy, a colony, whose objects and tendencies were so directly adverse to them and their trade. The society having thus secured the indirect, though most efficient co-operation of the national government, without which it could not have taken one successful step in the great and glorious work of African colonization, proceeded to make the necessary preparations to despatch its first expedition of voluntary emigrants to the land of their ancestors. The views and feelings—the hopes and the fears, which alternately possessed the minds of the managers of the society, at that most interesting period of its existence, cannot be felt by us of the present day—they can only be imagined. An

experiment, involving the interest of two great continents, was to be made. The future domestic peace and tranquillity of their own descendants, and the regeneration of a vast continent, barbarized and imbruted by the acts and deeds of civilized nations, were involved in the success of the experiment they were about to make. Their views and feelings at that time, are thus expressed in their third annual report: "A revolution so beneficent, so extended, and so glorious, requires to effect it, the concert and the resources of a nation. The people of America have the power to secure its success against the uncertainty of an accident. They are summoned to the performance of this duty, by the most urgent and powerful incentives of interest and of justice, and the tenderest claims of humanity. Its final accomplishment will be a triumph over superstition, ignorance and vice, worthy of a people destined, it may be fondly hoped, to surpass all other nations, in the arts of civilized life. The Colonization Society is about to lay the corner stone of this edifice—whether it shall rise to strength and grandeur, is now for the government and people of America, under the over-ruling Providence of heaven to decide." A few facts will now show the progress of this great work of christian benevolence, in Africa. It will be recollectcd, that in 1817, when this society was organized, many of the good citizens of the United States declined to aid the cause, until it should be ascertained that a suitable territory could be secured in Africa. This they honestly doubted, and for reasons which would have stood good to this day, and forever, if the *cause* had not been of God. The injuries inflicted upon that people, and their total aversion thereby, to morality, and their consequent want of confidence in the white race, presented barriers which nothing short of divine arrangement, and providential interference could have overcome. Others again, had determined to believe that the free people of colour of the United States, would not, under any circumstances within their control, ever consent to go to Africa.

"Too many of this class, the writer of this brief statement of facts regrets to say, have done all that they could do, to realize their own sagacious prediction. But how

stands the case now?—why, in the first place, the society did in 1821 and 1822, procure a territory in Africa, which territory in 1832, extended from Grand Cape Mount to Trade Town, a distance of 280 miles, and now embraces a much larger extent, both of coast and the interior of country. In the second place, there has been transported to Liberia, (the name of the society's territory) from 1821 to this period, thousands of emigrants, whose faculties, while they were in the United States, were so contracted as to induce the opinion with some, that they were intellectually vastly inferior to the whites, who have manifested a capability of expansion of intellect and of moral culture, which most forcibly demonstrates their relationship to the great mass of mankind.

“This first colony, planted in Africa by American benevolence, has, in a few short years, produced a greater amount of moral good to the inhabitants of that continent, than could have been effected by any other means in a whole century. The combined naval forces of England and America, though they might have cut off, to a great extent, the African slave trade, could never have inspired the natives with a relish for the blessings of civilization and christianity. This has been done, and is now doing, by the means of colonization, to an extent, which fully justifies the belief, and should command the confidence of every man, that colonization is the great instrument, by and through which, the Almighty purposes to restore that long fallen and degraded continent, to all the blessings of civilization and christianity. Beacon fires from Mesurado, Cape Palmas, Mellsburgh, Caldwell, Grand Bassa, and other prominent and important points, are now sending forth a broad blaze of light, illuminating the darkness, and cheering the desolation of the contiguous tribes. Already many of them have sprung into new existence. Turning away with disgust and horror from the traffic in each others blood, to which they had been trained from generation to generation, and by which their race has been scattered and peeled, they are now cultivating their own rich soil, dressing and pruning their own palm trees, gathering their own pure gold, ivory, valuable dyes, fragrant and beautiful gums, and healing

plants and drugs, and bearing them into Monrovia, Cape Palmas, and other settlements on the coast, for barter and exchange. Their children, losing their relish for savage life, are now learning in the schools of the colonies, the language, the customs, the mechanic arts, and the religion, of our emancipated slaves; who, in their turn, are gradually laying the foundation for an empire of republics, breathing the spirit of our own happy institutions. Well, and truly, did the honourable **HENRY CLAY**, the patriot, the statesman, and the friend of man, speak, when he said, 'but the benevolent purpose of the scheme is not limited to the confines of one continent, nor to the prosperity of a solitary race.' It is now made as clear as the light of heaven's sun, that it will, under suitable patronage, gradually remove from our own borders, a great political and social evil; and at the same time confer upon Africa, a benefit, which will in the end, pay, with ample and glorious interest the debt so long due to her, a debt in men, money and morals.

It is readily granted—it is a position so clear, so perfectly palpable, that no friend of the cause has ever dreamed of reasoning against it, that private voluntary donations will not produce a sufficient amount of means to carry on the cause, as rapidly as it ought now to advance. This was happily foreseen by the legislature of Maryland in 1831--2, and but for the liberal and munificent appropriation of money made by the state at that time, in aid of colonization, the present condition of that state would have been, in regard to one item of its internal affairs, an item more intricate and difficult to manage than any and all others, in a most deplorable condition. The funds of the American, or parent institution, were found to be utterly inadequate to send off to their colony, the numerous applicants for admission into it, from other states. And that portion of the population of Maryland, whose best interests are intended to be promoted by colonization, were, and still are, rapidly increasing. Old prejudices, with all their long established habits, both in Europe and America, are bending, yielding, and falling before the lights and the improvements of the present century.

In 1790, there were but about 8,500 free coloured persons in that state. In 1830, there were upwards of 53,000. Hence the political necessity, both as it regarded them, and the white population of the state, of some definite plan upon which they could, or might be provided for, and placed in a condition of comfort, safety, and independence—colonization was, and still is, that plan, and it is the only *practicable* plan. The adoption of this plan by the general assembly of Maryland in 1831-2, and the appropriation then made to render it effectual, has placed the state upon a pinnacle of moral grandeur which no lapse of time will ever either undermine or efface. The gentlemen appointed under the act above referred to, to carry into effect, its most wise, salutary, and benevolent provisions, were MOSES SHEPPARD, CHARLES HOWARD, and CHARLES CARROLL HARPER. “To eulogise their acts, under this new relation to the state and one of its most important domestic concerns; a relation, involving a moral responsibility to the state, and to the children of Africa within its limits, and to the African continent, forms no part of the writer’s purpose. The results of their most judicious administration of, and superintendence over these great interests, is the best commentary upon, and commendation of their acts. The act of assembly which called them into official existence, gave them a discretionary power to *do* all and every thing that they might deem essential to promote the welfare of the persons to be removed from the state, (with their own consent,) to Liberia, in Africa, or elsewhere. Being members, as the law required them to be, of the Maryland State Colonization Society, which an act of incorporation from the state, almost simultaneous with the act under which they were appointed, they were thus happily brought into close fellowship and alliance with the members, and board of managers of that institution. What has been the result of their joint operation? How have they discharged the solemn obligations which they consented to come under, without fee or reward in money? Let facts answer these questions. In 1832, some twenty odd free persons of colour, residents of the city of Baltimore, determined to avail themselves of the privileges

which Boyer, of Hayti, had offered to such persons of colour of the United States as might be willing to emigrate thither. They were sent: but none, no, not one has followed them, so far as the writer is informed, and believes. He knows that none since then, have been sent by the 'State's Board,' or by the society. This no member of the board has ever regretted, political considerations, as well as motives of kindness to the coloured people themselves, induced a most ready acquiescence in this want of disposition on their part to settle in that island.

"In the same year, one hundred and fifty, mostly from the eastern shore of Maryland, embarked at Baltimore for Monrovia, the capital of what is now called the old colony—though as to years, it is still in its infancy. It was then hoped by the board of managers, and the friends of the cause throughout the state, that hundreds and thousands of others would soon gladly follow them. But, as though it had been, (as it might, for all the writer knows,) the purpose of Providence to extend more rapidly along the western coast of that benighted continent, new settlements, constituted of the only class of people that could effectually root up and destroy the African slave trade, their hopes endured only for a season. The first intelligence from the Maryland emigrants, to whom reference has been made, was as the knell of death to all these fondly cherished expectations. At the time of their arrival, the colony, in consequence of an extraordinary accession of new settlers, many of whom were totally destitute of the slightest means of procuring a livelihood, was involved in great distress. Mercantile speculations and operations, by which some few of the original settlers had become possessed of comparative wealth, had attracted the attention of nearly every settler from the soil, and the cultivation thereof, to the uncertainties of trade and traffic. They were threatened, consequently, with a want of subsistence. Food was scarce, and many suffered. Many of those emigrants complained, not of the climate, nor of the soil, for the one was genial, and the other was rich; but of the want of the

necessary means to subsist upon during the period of their acclimation. This state of things, obviously distressing to the emigrants, and apparently well calculated to extinguish forever the spirit of emigration, which was, up to the period when this information reached Maryland, extensively progressing in many of the counties of the state, especially those on the eastern shore, was happily, yea, providentially made the occasion for the introduction of a new aspect, or principle, upon the system of colonization. Up to this period, the system was general, and embraced in its range all the states and territories, who were disposed to become tributary to the furtherance of the grand purposes of the scheme. And as all men in no one community, however small, have ever yet thought exactly alike upon any subject of general interest, it was not at all to be wondered at, that the benevolent purposes of colonization, should be differently construed, in those two cardinal sections of the union indicated by the terms, the north and the south. The northern friends of the cause, (acting honestly no doubt,) under the influence of a strong and natural attachment to the principle of voluntary labour, soon became extremely anxious to use colonization as an engine to effect immediate and universal change in the whole domestic economy of the south—carried away by their ignorance of the subject, and unwilling to believe that the southern friends of colonization were sincere in their professions of attachment to the African race, because they did not resolve to incorporate a new direct object upon the scheme—an object, which the original framers of its constitution had left to the collateral influence of the cause, and to the moral sense of the community, immediately and solely interested and affected by that portion of the population, whether for weal or for woe: many of them drew off. Hence the opposition, from portions of the north, to colonization—hence the infatuation in regard to it, of many good and pious men, in that region. It has been well observed by a distinguished citizen and divine of New England, who is a warm friend and powerful advocate of the system of colonization, that 'in these days of ultraism, if a company of good men succeed in getting up a good institution,

even in spite of the devil himself, he is almost sure to turn charioteer.' Colonization, it will be observed, by this contrariety of sentiment in regard to the legitimate objects of its action, is made to be one thing in the north, while it was another in the south. A mutual, friendly concert of action between these two parties, was rapidly ceasing. The foundation of the whole superstructure, being thus invaded, the edifice was in danger of falling. Its fall would have annihilated the hopes of the patriot, the philanthropist, and the christian, and extinguished the only star of hope for benighted and oppressed Africa. The free coloured people of Maryland and of other southern states, and their descendants, would have been left to all the hopelessness and dreariness which attaches in all countries to the condition of a separate and subordinate caste. The 'tender mercies' of their fanatical, though well-meaning friends in the north and in the east, would have produced in the incipient stages of their application, an action which, by the stern and unalterable law of necessity, would have cast them loose from the ties which now connect them to the protection of a system of law, beneficent and kind in its operations, and salutary in its provisions, to all the wretchedness and misery of a proscribed condition. But, under the powerful stimulus of hope, aided by the munificent appropriation of the state, the managers appointed by the society, determined to present the cause in such an aspect, as could not fail to secure the hearty consent and cordial approbation of all the friends of colonization in and out of the state. That aspect is 'separate state action.' The labour—the toil, the research, and the trembling anxiety for its success, which the managers submitted to and underwent in arranging this plan, so as to guard it against every possible objection, justly entitle them to the highest praise. And the success of the *plan* will be looked upon by their descendants and posterity, as one among the brightest incidents in the history of the state, which has occurred since the establishment of our national independence. The plan having been before the people for years, it is not necessary that in this brief statement of facts, we should repeat it in detail. It has met the most decided

approbation of the citizens of the state. The colonization societies of Pennsylvania and New York have adopted it; and to it, under the good providences of Almighty God, and the untiring exertions of the American Society's secretaries and agents, to correct the erroneous views and feelings of northern and eastern gentlemen, may be attributed the resuscitation of the good feelings and generous contributions with which they greeted the cause when it was first presented to their consideration. It is but an act of justice to state in this place, that the people of the state, and the friends of the cause elsewhere, are especially indebted to John H. B. Latrobe, Esq. the corresponding secretary of the Maryland Colonization Society, for this judicious system of separate state action. His devotion to this great work of improvement, and his untiring efforts to make it the instrumental cause of Africa's regeneration, justly entitle him to a high rank among the best and most devoted friends of that benighted people.

"In December, 1833, the first expedition was despatched, with but a handful of emigrants, under the guidance and direction of Dr. James Hall, with whom was associated the Rev. John Hersey, to found on the coast of Africa, if possible at Cape Palmas, a new colony for the benefit of the free coloured people of Maryland, and such of their own colour, as might from time to time become free. The hopes and the fears which alternately agitated the feelings of the managers of the two boards, can only be justly conceived of, by those who were privy to them at the time. But, relying upon the justness—the propriety, the necessity, and the benevolence of the enterprise, they piously committed it in humble prayer, to the guidance and direction of that benign Being, who had said centuries before, 'then Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God.' It should be mentioned here, as a tribute of respect to the memory of the then president of the society, the late George Hoffman, Esq. whose contributions in aid of the cause were always free and liberal, that after signing the instructions which had been written out for the government and direction of Dr. Hall, he addressed the board of managers, and said, 'Now,

gentlemen, we have done all that we can do to insure the success of this great undertaking, and may the blessing of Almighty God follow what we have done.' This sudden heart-felt appeal produced a sensation at the board, which induced every member present, to say, Amen! The success of this expedition fully realized the expectations of its most ardent friends, and greatly increased the confidence of others in the wisdom and foresight of its projectors.

"The announcement of his success, by Dr. Hall, was accompanied with two young native African boys, one the son of King WEAH BORLEO, and the other of King PARFLEUR. Their parents were anxious to have them instructed in an English education, and as a token of their confidence in the integrity of the managers of colonization, sent them to their care. This instance of confidence, under all the circumstances of the case, is without a parallel in the history of ages; and should be looked upon as conclusive proof of the desire, so frequently ascribed to that people, of emerging from their ignorance and barbarism. The territory thus happily secured, and which was supposed to contain within its limits, something like 500,000 acres of land, was called Maryland in Liberia—and the first town established therein, at Cape Palmas, was called HARPER, after the late General Robert Goodloe Harper, of Maryland, who gave the cause of colonization at an early period of its existence, the weight and influence of his *name, money, and eloquence*. A recent publication under the editorial head of the Baltimore American, is so replete with information, shewing the progress of the colony and its happy moral influence over the surrounding native tribes, that we are constrained to connect it with this brief statement of facts:

"MARYLAND IN LIBERIA.

"We invite the attention of our readers to the letter, which we publish below, in reference to the present condition of this interesting colony. The intelligence heretofore received of it has always been satisfactory, and the opinion of Mr. Burt, who certainly appears to have been a disinterested witness, and who corroborates his

views by the facts which he states, fully confirms us in the belief that its establishment has been one of the most fortunate circumstances connected with the colonization cause. It would be unjust not to remark, that the prosperity of the colony reflects the highest credit upon the board of managers of the State Colonization Society, who, as well in the choice of a location on the coast of Africa, as in the adoption of a proper system for the government of the settlement, have exercised so sound a judgment. It gives us great pleasure to add, that despatches have been received, in which the condition of the colony is stated to be highly prosperous. Dr. Hall had just returned from a most interesting tour up the Cavally river, from the mouth of the falls, a distance of sixty miles, and had reached the mountain range, which here runs parallel to the coast. He describes the Cavally as a noble stream, navigable for vessels drawing twelve feet water, at all seasons, as high up as the cataract at Fave. Numerous villages and some large towns are found at intervals on either bank. With the kings of two of these, Dr. Hall made treaties, by which large tracts of territory were ceded to the state society; the consideration being, besides the trifling present made at the palaver, the advantages which the kings would derive from the establishment of schools for their people, and the introduction of the arts of civilized life. A treaty was also made with the king of the Yeabreh people for the Bulyemah country, which gives the State Society the possession of both banks of the Cavally for some miles above its mouth. The king of Half Cavally, who had refused to sell to the society, when the colony was founded, and whose territory, lying like a wedge in the midst of the society's possessions, was a constant source of anxiety, lest it should be sold to foreigners, who would establish a factory, where a traffic in ardent spirits, prohibited in Maryland in Liberia, would be carried on,—this king has now followed the example of his neighbours, and ceded his lands. The policy of the State Society being to raise the natives to the standard of the colonists, with a view to their amalgamation as one peo-

ple, and not to drive them from their homes, the various treaties that have been made leave to them their improved lands and possessions, but being all under the control of the governor of Maryland in Liberia. The extent of territory recently acquired, is about five hundred square miles. In the Bulyemah country, a part of the new cession, is the oracle of the region of country for six hundred miles up and down the coast. Dr. Hall visited the spot, and found it to be a large rock, from which, by means of a rude ventriloquism, possessed by the attendant priest, a sound was made to appear to proceed, which the priest interpreted *ad libitum*. To the ignorant natives, the rock, situated in a wild country, seems invested with intelligence, and hence its sanctity. Delphos lives again in Bulyemah. The influence of the reputation of the colony and its able governor, was strongly proved on the visit up the Cavally. The brother of the king of Haidee died on the night of Dr. Hall's arrival in the chief town of the territory, and one of the natives was next day sentenced to undergo the trial by poison, on suspicion of being the cause of his death. Through the exertions of Dr. Hall, however, he was saved from the trial, and this, notwithstanding the high rank of the supposed victim, the power of the king, and the passions and prejudices of the people.

Extract of a letter from Wm. Floyd Burt, supercargo of the Brig Eliza, of New York, to a friend in that city.

“DEAR —: When you became aware of my intention to visit the western coast of Africa, you partly wrung from me a promise that in case my other engagements would permit, I would note particularly the state of the American colonies established here, as you would put confidence in my remarks concerning them. I then informed you, that being neither abolitionist nor colonizationist, I, of course, should be an impartial observer, but as my object in visiting the coast would be strictly commercial, I should probably have little leisure to attend to other business than my own. I will however, make a few observations merely to convince you that I have not

been unmindful of your request; and at the same time confess that I feel an interest in the affair, which a half dozen colonization meetings could never have awakened. No intoxicating drink is permitted to be used by the colonists or for native trade. Being but little acquainted with new settlements, you may not place much confidence in my judgment, but I doubt much if any town in our western country has made equal progress with this in the same length of time, with the expenditure of twice the amount of capital. But to confine myself to facts. This village, now eighteen months old, contains twenty-three frame dwelling-houses of one and two stories; one two story stone house, and commodious frame weather boarded and thatched meeting-house, independent of the agency buildings, which are a fine two story residence for the governor, suitable out-houses, and a large forty feet two story stone warehouse, handsomely finished on the inside, which would do honour to any of our wharves. There are three well constructed receptacles for emigrants; two of seventy-five feet each in length, and one of one hundred and twenty feet. The latter stands on the public farm, about half a mile from the village, on which are also being erected a two story dwelling for the farming agent, and a strong jail. On the farm lands, about one and a half miles from Harper, are nine dwelling-houses, occupied by late emigrants, and I should judge that there are fifty acres of land under good cultivation, which in a short time will supply a sufficiency of vegetable food for the whole colony. When I have said this, it will be unnecessary to add that the people are enterprising and industrious, and the affairs of the colony well conducted. There are two schools in the colony, which are attended both by colonists and natives, and I am informed that they both make rapid progress. That the natives lack not zeal in the matter, I am well assured, from seeing men of twenty and thirty years of age, with their slate and cards conning their alphabet. There is a missionary establishment here under the care of the Rev. Mr. Wilson,* who together with his lady, appear to be admirably well

*The Protestant and Methodist Episcopal Churches now have missionaries there.

adapted by their conciliatory manners to win the affections of the natives, which is indispensable in order to effect any change in their character. They both apparently enjoy excellent health, having become quite naturalized, although not a year has elapsed since they landed. The natives, although reported to have been heretofore the most dangerous this side of St. Andrew's bay, are now perfectly friendly and peaceable, and look up to the governor of the colony as a father. The king made us a visit on board, dressed in a shirt, pantaloons, and a New York cut black coat, surmounted by two tarnished epaulettes, a tri-cocked hat and long red plume. The natural advantages of Cape Palmas are greater than those of any other point of the coast. The anchorage and landing is decidedly the best I have seen; and although it has little trade now, except palm oil, yet from its situation, being the connecting point between the windward and leeward coasts, it must one day command the main trade of both; and become a depot for immense quantities of merchandise to be distributed by small colonial crafts, from one to two hundred miles each way. If this slight sketch will afford you any satisfaction, I shall be amply repaid for the communication, for I assure you I have derived no little pleasure from acquainting myself thoroughly with so beautiful a colony in this land of ignorance and barbarism. Of the matter herein contained, you may make what use you see proper."

What delightful emotions must swell the heart of the christian philosopher, and of the philanthropist, when they look over this broad, rich and luxuriant field of successful experiment, which is now enlightening, blessing, and saving the African race? How great, how mighty the changes which have been effected on the western coast of that darkened continent, within a few short years? Heretofore, for centuries, up to 1820, the whole of that vast coast, with the exception of the little verdant spot of Sierra Leone, was one dreary, dark, and moral waste. The native tribes thereof, driven by the sad necessity of circumstances, were in almost constant war with each other, in order to secure captives to meet the increasing demand for slave labour in the West Indies

and in other places. The common ties of humanity, and the sacred bonds of consanguinity, were all torn asunder, and the coast was one wide-spread scene, (with the exception already made,) of deep moral degradation, and unnatural alienation. Colonization, like the star in the east, which led the Magi of Egypt, from the deep recesses of their solitude, by a way which they knew not, to the ancient city of Bethlehem, in the land of Judea, the birth-place of the Redeemer of mankind, is now most happily and effectually drawing the native African race to behold in the persons, and the conduct, the arts and the religion of the children of their exiled fathers, the influence of that religion, whose unvarying accents from the beginning, have been, and still are, ‘peace on earth and good will to man.’ Colonization is gradually unfolding and explaining the deep mysteries of Providence, in regard to that long afflicted and degraded portion of the human race. The clouds of thick darkness, which have so long hung over them, are gradually passing away. And the reasons, which made it necessary that they should be ‘scattered and peeled and trodden,’ under foot for a season, are becoming plainer and more clear, every revolving year. Like the ancient Jews, who departed from the worship of God to the acknowledgment and adoration of dumb idols, and who were scourged by repeated captivities in foreign lands, and who were only cured of their idolatry, by their last captivity and servitude in Babylon;—the native African race, having also departed from the worship and adoration of the true God and only saviour, Jesus Christ, were, as it would seem, temporarily abandoned to their own lusts, while multitudes of them were permitted to be torn from their homes, and brought to this continent and the islands thereof, where they have been learning, especially within the limits of the United States, from generation to generation, the language, the arts, the civilization and religion of freemen, and the nature and genius of republican governments.

Should we contrast their past and present condition in this country, farther than already done, with the condition of their less enlightened, barbarous and enslaved

brethren in their "fatherland," what enlightened christian would not say, although it was a personal, deep, and awfully aggravated crime in those who originated and first engaged in the traffic, that their condition is nevertheless better than it would have been at home. It was truly a wicked, unnatural, and savage act on the part of Joseph's brethren, when they, through envy, unanimously agreed to sell him a slave to the merchants of Egypt. But that act, wicked and abominable as it was, was overruled by a kind, merciful and benignant Providence, for their temporal salvation. The history of that case, has been too much overlooked. Under the influence of local circumstances, and of local prejudices, good meaning men, have entirely forgotten, or have looked away from the delightful and precious doctrine of an over-ruling, controlling and determining Providence, which is beautifully illustrated, in or by the case of Joseph. Some years after he had been sold, his father and his brethren were upon the eve of perishing by famine. They (his brethren) must go down into Egypt to buy corn. When they first came into the presence of Egypt's governor, Joseph, their own brother, although they knew him not, yet he knew them well. For a time he kept his feelings in his own heart. But when he could no longer refrain the mighty gush of brotherly affection, which had been pent up in his heart so long, even from the first moment that he saw them, he cried out, in the midst of all his courtiers and attendants, "Cause every man to go out from me—and there stood no man with him while Joseph made himself known to his brethren—and he wept aloud, and the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard—and Joseph said unto his brethren, I am Joseph—doth my father yet live?—and his brethren could not answer him, for they were troubled at his presence—and Joseph said, Come near to me, I pray you—and they came near, and he said, I am Joseph, your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt; now therefore be not grieved nor angry with yourselves, for *God did send me before you to preserve life.*"

It is intended to show by this pathetic quotation, that the African race upon their exit from this country,

enlightened and ready to spread that light which here they have received—the knowledge of God and his religion—can go back to their fatherland, (many of them have gone—more are ready to go,) and carry with them a portion of the bread of life. This fact alone, clearly demonstrates to all, except the wilfully blind and fanatical, that their sojournment here, has been a blessing to themselves, and is being made an everlasting blessing to the children of their ancestors, by the over-ruling providence of the living God. If this condensed view of the subject be a true one, (and the facts in regard to colonization and its effects, cannot be disputed,) is it not quite clear, even as plain as day, that those who have attempted to substitute immediate and universal emancipation, for colonization, are the worst enemies of the whole African race? Their plan, even if, by any possible means, it could be made practicable, without subverting the domestic economy, for the time being, of the southern states, would rob Africa of the only means by which she can be recovered from the ignorance and barbarism which she has suffered for ages past.

Colonization has already done for Maryland, Virginia, and the South, more than the worth of a million of dollars. It has secured on the coast of Africa, a territory more than sufficient for her free coloured population, as numerous as they are, and for all that may hereafter, from time to time become free, for an age to come. It has established governments upon the principles of enlightened republicanism, which are now challenging the admiration, and commanding the confidence and the affections of the native tribes within the sphere of their operations. It has been the faithful and true John the Baptist, of the states, for it has prepared the way for a full, free and generous action, in favour of that portion of our population, whose claims for protection are sanctioned by the holiest attributes of our nature. It has prepared the way for any future legislation for them, which circumstances may imperiously demand. Colonization has erected a bulwark upon the broadest, firmest, and most immovable basis, and presents a shield of protection against the fiery and fanatical doctrines of north-

ern agitators, and will, in all future time, preserve the peace, and secure the happiness of our domestic relations. It has done all this, at a cost so trifling, so utterly insignificant, when contrasted with the extent of the territory secured, the governments established, the emigrants* sent from the states, and their own independence, and the benefits they are conferring upon the nations around them, as to be scarcely worth naming.

How different is this result from the predictions of many in 1817. Then it was alleged, "no territory can be secured on the African coast—no free coloured man will ever voluntarily leave the United States for Africa; and the expense, even if these difficulties were out of the way, is too enormous—millions by millions will not produce an adequate sum." Pursuing the even tenor of their way, the friends of the cause have given a practical demonstration of these errors. They have established independent colonies, and there are now within their limits, thousands of citizens, who were once hewers of wood and drawers of water in the United States. For twenty-five years many of the northern as well as southern states have been actively, though feebly, engaged in advancing this good plan of colonization, thus originated by the fathers of our country, and thus carried out by our wisest and greatest statesmen. Abolitionism alone has acted as a deadly *sirocco*, to blast their efforts and prevent that good intended to the coloured race. Kentucky, Tennessee, the Carolinas, Georgia, Louisiana, and little Mississippi, stimulated by the example of Virginia and Maryland, indeed all the slave-holding states, have engaged actively in this good cause of colonization. It is just, it is right and honourable to say, that the untiring efforts of the colonization societies of the *non-slave-holding states*, have evinced also their undissembled attachment to this union. Thousands of dollars have been collected—thousands of coloured men and their families have gone to Africa. Towns, forts, farms, churches, mills, stores, have risen up as by magic. Never did colonies prosper as have those in Africa. The gospel is now preached by scores

* Thousands of free persons of colour have been sent to Liberia, since the formation of the society.

of coloured ministers and white missionaries to the colonists and natives. African chiefs, their families and people, have turned to the Lord Jesus—Ethiopia *has* stretched forth her hands to God. He has heard her cry and the voice of salvation is in the African tabernacle. The Methodist Episcopal Church have a regularly established conference in Africa, of at least twenty ministers, and several hundred church members. The Baptists have a large association, nearly equal to them. The Protestant Episcopalians and Presbyterians are doing wonders in Maryland, Liberia. The self-denying Mr. Wilson, the Presbyterian minister at Cape Palmas, his amiable, pious and accomplished consort, and the excellent and pious Dr. Savage, and his companions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, are causing under God, the desert to blossom as a rose. We have ourself received letters from some of the colonists, and some of the missionaries, with whom we are personally acquainted. We are able to say, that in our humble opinion, but for the interference of abolitionists, at this moment, where there is one coloured man, a colonist in Liberia, there would have been one hundred. Thousands of free coloured men and their families have been deterred from removing thither, by abolition efforts, and the untoward misrepresentations of those contentious fanatics.

We will not here set down what we could collect and say of those disinterested and benevolent efforts made by New York, Pennsylvania, the New England, and other non-slave-holding states, to advance the cause of colonization. The Protestant Episcopal, the Presbyterian, the Baptist and Methodist Churches, have all, as one body, united to advance the same, because by the removal of the free coloured race, they actually civilize and save Africa, and restore the free coloured man to the enjoyment of freedom in his proper home. Thus, whilst by the removal of these, they better the condition of the slave, they encourage masters and mistresses to let their servants *voluntarily* go free, as a suitable home is provided for them, and they also encourage the slave to do well, under expectation that his master will ultimately send him or his posterity to his fatherland, there to be

raised to the dignity of a freeman. At a time when a rupture was absolutely about to take place in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in consequence of northern abolition efforts, many northern men threw themselves in the breach and resisted these efforts. The lamented Fisk, old Bishop Hedding, Dr. Bangs, and others, stood up for the cause of our union and our country, and no man ever wrote on this subject, to more direct and immediate effect, than did Dr. David M. Reese, of New York. The New York Methodist Annual Conference breasted the torrent, and let its ministers and their members, and the world know, that on this subject the Methodists would and should be one. Many ministers and members of the Baltimore Annual Conference, with the much lamented Bishop Emory at their head, as we have *reason* to know, came out and denounced abolitionism in the following, which we copy from the Baltimore American, as published by them.

“BALTIMORE, August 20th, 1835.

“The undersigned ministers, within the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, respectfully request those individuals north of us who are agitating the question of immediate abolition, to desist from sending to any of us their inflammatory periodicals, or other publications on that subject, as we never ordered or desired them, and are determined to have nothing to do with any of them, of which we request all postmasters to take notice. We beg leave to assure them also, that though we are neither slaveholders nor the friends of slavery, yet that, in our judgment, the rash and violent course they are pursuing, in conjunction with foreign emissaries, is doing immense mischief in all our southern country, and is especially calculated and tending to overwhelm our coloured population, both bond and free, with greatly aggravated afflictions and dangers, both temporal and spiritual, and to embroil the country in disgraceful and murderous riots. It is well known that the Baltimore Annual Conference has always taken, and still takes, a decided stand in favour of gradual and ultimate emancipation; yet so far as we know, the sentiments herein expressed are those of our brethren generally in this section, in regard to the interference of foreign agitators, in this most delicate and embarrassing of all our *domestic difficulties*.”

We repeat we have *reason* to know something of this paper, for Dr. Emory drew it up, and it was published from a copy of our own making as above. Among

others, maintaining the cause of the south, we find the talented Mr. Paulding, late secretary of the navy. When we turn to the southern states, notwithstanding the slurs, persecutions and inconsiderate efforts of these rash fanatics, we behold them coolly at work, using their efforts to advance the interests of the coloured race, by uniting in the scheme of colonization, which is so well calculated to effect its permanent welfare. By a reference to the African Repository and Colonial Journal, we find Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas, among the new states pressing on this great work. We wish we had space for those quotations which would show the sums raised, the work done, and the number of coloured persons sent by them to Africa. Among the old states we find Georgia, North and South Carolina, as well as Maryland and Virginia, putting the shoulder to the wheel, and seeking, notwithstanding abolitionism, to send the coloured man out full, to the land of Ham, the land of his fathers, "to bless, to till," and enjoy the fruits thereof. We would like to insert, *in extenso*, a report of the doings of all the slaveholding states on the subject of colonization. This we cannot do. We must not, however, forego that pleasure which it gives us to record here some of the proceedings and speeches at a late meeting of the Colonization Society of Virginia, held in its capitol. The report is one among the most interesting we have ever read. It gives a succinct account of every important point connected with colonization, and contains, among other interesting things, a speech delivered by President TYLER,—then the president of the society,—a speech from Gen. BAILY, of Accomac, one from Mr. RIVES, of Albemarle, one from Mr. MAXWELL, of Norfolk, and one from Mr. WISE, of U. S. Congress. These speeches could not be curtailed without material injury to the cause: and as they set forth the true principles of our fathers and the south on this subject, we give them as a whole, happy to have at hand something so well calculated to subserve that cause, which we believe to be the one, and only one, on which the entire south ought to unite. We mean colonization.

In concluding their report, the managers express this same opinion.

"The hall of the house of delegates was crowded to overflowing, at an early hour, by an audience of the first respectability and intelligence in Richmond, including many members of the legislature.

"The Hon. JOHN TYLER, president of the society, upon taking the chair delivered the following brief but very striking inaugural address, which fully sustained his reputation as a public speaker. He said that he could not permit this, the first occasion on which it had been in his power to attend a meeting of the society since he had been elected its president, to pass by, without expressing his grateful sense for the honours conferred upon him. You have appointed me, said he, the successor of one whose name is destined to reach a remote posterity—of one who, in his private character and conduct, furnished an exemplification of all the virtues. JOHN MARSHALL was among us as one of us—plain, unostentatious and unassuming, he left us in doubt which most to admire, his unaffected simplicity of character, or his extraordinary talents. Filling the highest judicial station—followed by the admiration of his countrymen—exerting an extensive influence by the mere force of his genius, over public opinion—his name familiar to the lips of the highest and most humble of a people inhabiting a continent, he seemed alone to be unconscious of his own exalted worth. To be appointed the successor of such a man, however great my own unworthiness, is an honour of which I have cause to be proud. The very origin of the Colonization Society is, in my memory, identified with him. At its first meeting in Washington, curiosity led me to be present; notice had been given through the newspapers, of the proposed meeting at Brown's hotel, and I was attracted thither by the desire to hear what could be said in favour of a scheme which I was short-sighted enough to regard as altogether Utopian. Let me frankly confess myself—I did consider it in its incipiency as but a dream of philanthropy, visiting men's pillows in their sleep, to cheat them on their waking. Chief Justice MARSHALL, with some fifteen others, were present, but that small number exhibited a constellation of talent. HENRY CLAY presided, JOHN RANDOLPH addressed the meeting, and WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD was the first president of the Colonization Society. Such was the beginning of a society which now embraces thousands of the most talented and patriotic men in the country. We have been peculiarly fortunate, gentlemen, in having to preside over our deliberations, in this hall, one so distinguished for all that can adorn a man, as Chief Justice MARSHALL; and at the same time the privilege of acting in close communion with another of those men given by God, in his especial goodness, as a blessing to mankind—I mean JAMES MADISON, so lately one of our vice-presidents. I am not given much to that idolatry which too often puts fetters on the

mind, leading it to consecrate errors in opinion, because advanced and sustained by men of exalted standing. But surely I may be permitted to say, that the opinions of two such men concurring, bear strong evidence of truth. Their minds were of too substantial an order to indulge in a mere vision. Their judgments were too profound to have been misled by the deceptive lights of a mistaken philanthropy. While the horizon of the future was clouded so that my own limited vision could not penetrate it, they stood, as it were, on a lofty mountain's top, and a beautiful prospect was presented to their sight. They saw the first landing of the pilgrims on the desert shores of Africa—the busy and the thriving rose up before their sight—the hammer of the artizan sounded in their ears—the hum of industry floated on the breeze—songs of praise and thanksgiving came over the distant waves—the genius of civilization had penetrated the wilderness, overthrowing in its progress the idol and the altar, and rearing on the ruins, temples to the true and only God. All this *they* saw, and all this *we* now see. For myself, after learning the successful landing of the first emigrants, and that they were speedily to be followed by others, all my doubts vanished. The reality was before me. The seed was planted—spring time came and it vegetated—harvest time and the crop was abundant. But a few years since and no voice of civilization proceeded from Africa. Now thousands of civilized beings have made it their home, and the wilderness may be considered as reclaimed. The exhibits annually made to the public of the state and condition of the colony, are calculated to relieve the mind of all doubt. The colony is planted—advances with rapid strides—and Monrovia will be to Africa what Jamestown and Plymouth have been to America. Happily their success is equally beneficial to all the states. Nothing sectional enters into it. The same spirit actuates all; the same policy governs all. The free black man is found in Maine as well as in Louisiana. What then shall retard the onward march of this great cause? Heretofore it has looked for success to private individuals, and to the state legislatures. My opinion is that it should still look to them. To appeal to congress for aid, is to appeal to a body having no power to grant it—a body of restricted and limited powers, and fettered by the terms of its own creation. From that source it may get money, but it will lose friends, and friends are more valuable to it than money. I would not have it successful without the concurrence of the states. Our own state may be considered the pioneer in this great work. On this subject she stands proudly pre-eminent. She will doubtless do her duty. Policy and humanity go hand in hand in this great work; united in the accomplishment of the same object, they cannot fail to succeed. Philanthropy, when separated from policy, is the most dangerous agent in human affairs. It is no way distinguishable from fanaticism. It hears not, sees not, understands not. It is deaf, and hears not the admonitions of truth and wisdom. It is blind, and walks over prostrate victims, and amid the ashes of desolation, without perceiving that its feet are stained with blood, and that its

garments are discoloured. It understands not, until the voice of sorrow and lamentation, proceeding from the sepulchre of man's fondest hopes and brightest expectations, arouses it to consciousness. And is there not a spirit of that sort now at work in our own fair land? It is the antagonist of that which we cherish. It invades our hearths, assails our domestic circles, preaches up sedition and encourages insurrection. It would pull down the pillars of the constitution, and even now shakes them most terribly—would violate the most sacred guarantees—would attain its object by sundering bonds which bind and only have power to bind these states together: the bonds of affection and brotherly love. It seeks to excite inextinguishable prejudices in the minds of one-half of our people against the other half. It acts in league with foreign missionaries, and gives open countenance to the people of another hemisphere to interfere in our domestic affairs. It is sectional, altogether sectional; in a word, *it is the spirit of abolition*. From this place *I denounce it*, and this society denounces it. The weapons which it uses are the weapons of slander and abuse—not as to one sex or condition of existence only, but all—all are abused and slandered by it. It labours to induce the usurpation of a power by government, which would be attended by the destruction of the government itself, in the substitution (if a work so disastrous to the liberties of mankind could be effected) of a consolidated government—a mere majority machine—in place of the happy federal system under which we live. The opinion already prevails with many, that the government is a unit—and the people a unit! I care not from whence they derive sanction for this—but this I will say, that whether such sanction comes from the living or the dead, from men in power, or men out of power, it is false in theory and destructive in practice. Each state, as to all matters not ceded by compact, is as **SOVEREIGN** as before the adoption of the constitution. What right then have the people of one state to interfere with the domestic relations of any other state?—what right to agitate in order to affect their neighbours? The reverend clergy, too, they whose doctrine should evermore be, peace on earth and good will to men, are lending themselves to this pernicious work. **They** seek to enlist woman—she who was placed upon the earth, as the rainbow in the heavens, as a sign that the tempest of the passions should subside. Woman is made an instrument to expel us from the paradise of union in which we dwell. What will satisfy these *ministers* of a gospel which alone abounds in love? Do they wish to christianize the heathen?—to spread the light of the gospel over the benighted places of the earth through the instrumentality of this society, that light may be brought to shine where no ray of the gospel sun has ever yet penetrated? Do they want a more extended theatre for their labours than that they now enjoy? We present them one entire quarter of the earth. We invite them to go with us into the wilds of Africa—to sit down by the side of the black man—to teach him to raise his eyes from the earth on which they are bent—to look up to the heavens and to ascend 'through

nature unto nature's God.' He works most inscrutably to the understandings of men ; the negro is torn from Africa, a barbarian, ignorant and idolatrous ; he is restored *civilized, enlightened, and a christian*. The Colonization Society is the great African missionary society. In my humble judgment it is worth more, twice told, than all foreign missionary societies combined. Already it has planted the cross among the heathen, and kindled the fires of civilization in the desert ; and that cross will stand and that light be spread until a continent be redeemed. All this is done quietly and peaceably and with the acquiescence of society. Charity dictates and policy adopts—can any messenger of the Saviour—can any lover of his race, look upon this picture without delight ? Will nothing content him which is not done in violence ? Has he fallen in love with anarchy, that he woos her so assiduously ? Are envy, malice and all uncharitableness become assistants in the ministrations of the altar ? Is fraternal feeling and family peace become odious in his eyes ? But I will dwell no longer on these things. Our course, gentlemen, lies plainly before us ; we will steadily pursue it ; we interfere with no relation in society. In what we seek to do we are justified alike by the wisdom of the living and the dead, and success, *full, ample and entire*, must crown the enterprise.

"General Bayly, of Accomac, offered the following resolution :

"Resolved, That we regard the removal of the free people of colour from the United States to Africa, with their own consent, as one of the most efficient means of securing their ultimate peace, happiness, and prosperity.

"General Bailey remarked : Just before I came to this meeting, Mr. President, I was requested to offer the above resolution and advocate its adoption. Notwithstanding I was thus suddenly called upon, I did not hesitate to comply with the request ; for the truth of the resolution was too apparent to require either eloquence or argument to sustain it.

"The laws of all the slave-holding states permit emancipation. It has ever been the policy of Virginia to allow the master to free the slave. But since 1806, her laws have required all slaves thereafter manumitted, to leave the commonwealth. Though our laws require all freed slaves to leave the state, as a condition upon their emancipation, even philanthropy itself has not provided an asylum for them in the United States. What shall become of them ? Stern, unyielding and just policy demands that they should not remain in Virginia. But even should she be disposed to relax the rigour of her laws, ought they to remain within her borders ? Shall they be taken to the free states, even when their laws permit it ? We are not the enemies of emancipation when it is voluntary on the part of the master, and when it can be effected without injury to individuals and society. But when it has been legally commenced, we desire to see it consummated. This *never can be done as long as the negro remains in America*. He never can enjoy, here, the high prerogatives of a freeman. He many cease

to be the slave of a single individual, but he will continue to be the slave of the community, whose oppressions will be greater, and whose protection will be less, than that of the individual master. I repeat: In America, the black man never can be free!—he never can have the high-born feelings of a freeman—he must ever be a *political and social slave*. The shackles never can fall completely from about him, until he stands upon the shores of Africa.

“If, therefore, Mr. President, the negro never can be free in America, and if freedom be necessary to happiness and prosperity, it seems to me, that all philanthropists should join to bear him to Africa.

“It will be perceived that the end aimed at in the resolution, is not a mad or fanatical one, to be attained at the cost of the property and life of the slaveholder, and the happiness and prosperity of society. The end is no visionary one, to be arrived at by diabolical means. At the same time that it secures the ultimate happiness of the negro, it does not destroy, but promotes that of the white man. We are not pursuing a phantom. We are not seeking an imaginary blessing for the negro, under the hypocritical pretence of discharging a *moral* and *religious* duty, by means which will bring certain wo upon the white man. Were such our course, we should expect to be denounced by the wise and good—we should expect to be denounced by all such, as diabolical or mad! We should expect to bring down upon ourselves the loathing of man, and the vengeance of God, who has never pardoned evil, because even certain good hath come of it. What, then, must be the fate of him who does palpable and certain evil, that an ideal and improbable good may come of it?

“It will be observed, Mr. President, that the resolution goes no farther than to declare that the happiness and prosperity of the free negro will be promoted by his removal to Africa. It might have been extended. It might, with truth, have declared that the removal of the free negro to Africa, would promote the peace, prosperity and happiness of the free negro and white man—of the slaveholder and the slave. But, sir, that view is not contained in the resolution, and I forbear to comment upon it. I will detain you no longer, sir, for I am sure the resolution will meet with the approbation of all.

“On motion of Mr. RIVES, of Albemarle, it was

“*Resolved*, That considering the principle of African colonization as best responding to the demands of *southern patriotism and benevolence*, and offering to the temperate wisdom of all parties, and every section, a common ground of resistance against the mischievous and reckless enterprises of abolition, we regard it as eminently entitled to the confidence and patronage of the people of Virginia.

“Mr. Rives said, that he anticipated such a ready assent to the truth, and such a general appreciation of the bearings of this resolution, as to render it unnecessary for him to do more than present a very summary statement of the considerations, which had deeply

impressed his mind with this particular view of the principles of this noble enterprise. He also felt that he should, perhaps, pay but a poor tribute to the generous enthusiasm which pervaded the meeting, and prove himself inexcusably indifferent to the many evidences with which all hearts had just been gladdened—of a wise and generous, and growing sensibility to all its important tendencies, if, under the incitements of an ardent zeal, he were to permit himself to claim much of their attention, to enforce the sentiment which he had just had the honor of proposing for their adoption. It should be, said Mr. R., our legitimate boast—the subject of our mutual felicitations—that the objects of our society have been made so familiar to the public mind, and its fortunes, so fondly united with the loftiest sympathies of our people, that all its influences, present or future, certain or contingent, have been weighed with all the sagacity, and felt with all the chastened ardour, which the sound heads and pure hearts of our countrymen, could bring to the consideration of so interesting a cause. Of course, amid all the lights which have been concentrated on this subject, by the powers of reason and the illustrations of fancy, alike quickened and ennobled by the impulses of a virtuous patriotism—the aspect in which this resolution contemplates it, could not have escaped the public eye. Nevertheless, with a glad sense of its general appreciation, I still hope to be pardoned for barely suggesting the general views which establish, in my judgment, the double claim to public favour, which this resolution advances in behalf of our scheme.

“Of all the plans yet proposed, to raise the fortunes of a degraded class in our own population—to repair the injuries of a wronged, and desolated country—to accelerate our own social progress—to introduce civilization, and to transplant and nurture our own free institutions, in a land, in some particulars, not less favoured by nature, than cruelly outraged by the rapacity of man—I may safely appeal to the judgment of the American people, to know if this scheme of colonization does not best and most fitly correspond with the demands of *southern patriotism and benevolence*. What fatal blindness to the destinies of the southern people, would not be implied in their indifference to the multiplication among them of an anomalous class, subjected to none of the restraints of servitude, and incapable of being, here, elevated to the exercise of civil powers, or the full enjoyment of civil rights? Is it to be endured, that the social state of the South shall be exposed to constant exacerbation, and the sanctity of her domestic repose endangered, from the presence of an intermediate population, who stimulate the vices of the slave, and hanker after the prerogatives of the master? I am thoroughly convinced, that every consideration of private interest, and public duty, earnestly commends this benificent undertaking to the cordial regards of the slave-holding states. In view of our present circumstances, and future fortunes, I should feel it to be an insult to the South, worthy to be repelled by all her chivalry, to suppose her, for an instant, so recreant to the calls of prudence, sagacity and patriotism, as to contemplate, with lethargic indiffe-

rence, this spreading canker on her social system, without strong, undaunted, and persevering efforts to remove it.

“With these simple allusions to the general and emphatic claims of the society upon southern patriotism, let us turn a willing ear to the stirring appeals which it makes—not now, I trust, as never heretofore, is made *in vain*—to southern benevolence. There is something, sir, in the forlorn condition of this unfortunate and peculiar *caste* of our society—in the waste, if not the prostitution of their moral and intellectual capabilities, that addresses itself to the sympathies of christian philanthropy, in strains not less touching than those of the ancient captives, who so plaintively wept by ‘the rivers of Babylon.’ To relieve them from the long night of their ignorance—to elevate them in the scale of human existence—to give life to their moral and intellectual being, by placing before them the incitements of civil and political duties, is a fit and exalted aim for all the benevolence of those who are, in a great measure, responsible under Providence, for the fate of this buffeted and despised race. When too, we reflect that the accomplishment of this design, is the only feasible mode, namely, sir, under the plan of our association, contemplates their restoration to their long-lost home, with the habits and the institutions of our own favoured land, prepared to propagate the blessings of christianity, and the arts of civilization, we may dare, without profanely attempting to search out the secrets of the Most High, to flatter ourselves that we discern in its realization, the wisdom, and the end of that appointment, by which they were originally brought to our shores. What a mysterious and holy sanction—what a lofty encouragement does not this consideration impart to our enterprise! Our own benevolence thus expiates the wrongs of others, and Africa is redeemed from her savage thraldom, by the religion, the sciences and the arts, which her reclaimed sons have brought with them from the land of their captivity.

With these motives, which I am pleased to find so opportunely and unexpectedly re-inforced by the encouraging, and impressive views of the Annual Report that we have just received,—for asserting these proud titles of our society, to be held and considered, now, and forever, as the peculiar fondling of *southern patriotism and benevolence*, I turn, with feelings of equal gratification, to the strong moral safeguards, which it interposes against the progress of that extravagant *fanaticism*, which threatens from the north the safety and repose of our domestic institutions. Such, sir, would seem to be the constant stimulus, imparted to the public mind, by the wonderful achievements, which have been attained through the quickening agency of our free social organization, that there is a perceptible, and melancholy tendency on all subjects, moral, political, and religious, to run into thoughtless excesses,—the natural fruits of this inordinate excitement. The bewildering effects of this undue and feverish enthusiasm, can be avoided in no better manner, than by *calling away* the public sympathies from the dangerous, and “impracticable suggestions of this fanatical zeal, and

rallying them round enterprises, whose *wise*, and *safe*, and *moderate* aims, command the warm approval of a sound, undisturbed public judgment. In this view, the scheme of colonization, by satisfying the prudent and well-directed benevolence of all the *sound-hearted* among our brethren to the north, furnishes, both *there* and *here*, the most harmonizing incentives to a fraternal co-operation, and the strongest moral bulwark against the exasperating designs of abolition.

While from these obvious tendencies it has provoked the strenuous opposition, and excited the undying wrath of these impracticable zealots, any relaxation of our efforts in its support, might be fitly regarded as a positive triumph to their vindictive assaults. A knowledge, therefore, of our position in this respect, constitutes a powerful appeal to the independent, and dauntless spirit of our people, to abate not a jot of their energies, nor a particle of their contributions, under the denunciations of these insolent assailants; but, on the contrary, to oppose to their abuse of our scheme, the noble, and fearless defiance, that best speaks out—not in menace—but in deliberate action,—in the measure of increased zeal, and munificence, that we shall dedicate to this patriotic service. Our cause is abundantly sustained by the active sympathies of the wise and good in every section of the union; it is emphatically the *point d'appui*, on which rest the aims, the hopes, the affections of that enlarged public spirit, which comprehends alike all the diversified interests of our widely extended country, and aspires, with equal ardour, to arouse the south from her lethargy, and rescue the north from her fanaticism.

The claims of this institution upon *private* generosity, have not been unheeded. We have many gratifying evidences of the cordial response, which a liberal and sagacious public, have, heretofore, made to our earnest claims upon their support. But the important, and practical question, now arises, whether the spirit of the people shall be reflected by their representatives in this hall;—whether the *nominal* appropriation, heretofore made by Virginia in aid of these objects, shall be continued, and rendered efficient, by the removal of the restrictions, which have so far defeated its expenditure. I am proud, sir, to have occasion to bear testimony to you of the manifestations of popular solicitude in behalf of a renewed and unrestricted appropriation to these purposes,* which are daily reaching the body, of which I am a member.

Amid such cheering indications of public favour, and such inspiring auguries of ultimate success, I feel, that I can add no stronger motives of encouragement to increased zeal, liberality and exertion, in the prosecution of our enterprise than are found in the ready promptings of our own hearts.

* The committee of finance, of which, Mr. R. is chairman, is charged with the consideration of sundry memorials for an appropriation to this society, coming from the towns of Norfolk, Lynchburg, and Petersburg, and the counties of Rappahannock, Bedford, Amherst, Campbell, Morgan, Prince George, Monongalia, Northumberland, Page, Botetourt, Hampshire, Shenandoah, Fauquier, Nelson, Dinwiddie, and Berkeley.

On motion of SYDNEY S. BAXTER, Esq. it was

Resolved, That this society has heard with great pleasure the successful effort of the legislature and citizens of Maryland to plant a colony in Africa, and that it be recommended to the board of managers to adopt such measures as in their judgment shall be best calculated to promote the establishment of a new colony, for the reception of emigrants from this state, as proposed at the last annual meeting.

On motion of MR. MAXWELL, of Norfolk, it was

Resolved, That the continued and increasing prosperity of our colonies in Liberia,—illustrating, as it does, the free and generous spirit of our commonwealth, and displaying the pure and philanthropic genius of christianity, in the fairest and brightest manner,—is truly gratifying to all our hearts.

Mr. Maxwell said that he had come here this evening, (honestly) without intending to address the meeting. Indeed he had resolved, he as thought, not to do so. But alas! sir, said he, as you know, the resolution of a gentlemen not to speak, is very like that of a lady, (one of those rainbows, sir, that you told us about a while ago,) not to marry:—a resolution which, however *wisely* and firmly made, is very apt to melt away before the breath of the first agreeable tempter that presents himself before her. And even so it has been with me on this occasion; for I find, sir, that I cannot resist—indeed I cannot—the temptation to say *a single word* which has been addressed to me by a flattering friend, I mean our late worthy agent, in the kind allusion which he has made to me in the report which he has read. For, he tells us in it—and it is really the first time that I have heard of it—that there has been a meeting in Liberia at which mention has been made of my name, in connexion with the remarks which I made before our society here, at our last annual meeting, in this hall, on moving the resolution to establish a new colony in that country, to be called New Virginia. Those remarks, it seems, published from the press, and borne on the wings of some sea-bird, (some ship,) have found their way across the Atlantic—undrowned in its swelling surges—and have awakened echoes in the hearts of our freedmen there, who have sent us back their cheering voices, to awaken new echoes in our hearts again this evening. Yes, sir, and I must confess that I feel myself not a little flattered to hear that my said speech (such as it was) has been *encored* as it were, and spoken over again on that shore. I am sorry, indeed, that I do not know who the worthy gentleman was who did me the honour to personate me on that occasion; but I trust that he was some good honest fellow,—and a true Virginian to-boot; and I hope also, sir, that he was duly qualified to play his part with at least as much grace as the original before you at this present time. But however that may be, I must say that I do feel truly gratified by this compliment, (which I know how to appreciate,) and I will add, sir, by your leave, that though I am not perhaps without some ambition, yet I shall never envy the honours which you, sir, and other gentlemen may ac-

quire, from "the applause of listening senates," or *admiring houses of representatives*, if I can be known, both here and in Liberia too, as the faithful friend and constant advocate of this noble and inspiring cause.

Called upon, then, sir, as I am, in this way, and bound in duty, as I feel myself to be,—like a guest at a feast who has just been toasted—to make some acknowledgment for the compliment that has been paid me, I beg leave to give you a sentiment in the shape of a resolution, in these words: [here Mr. M. read the resolution, and proceeded.] I shall not, however, by any means, attempt to enforce this resolution by many words; for I know, indeed, that I may safely trust it to speak for itself. Sir, we all feel at once that we love this generous cause in which we are engaged, not merely for its own sake, but still more for the honour which it reflects upon our state. For, it is to her counsel, in fact, as we choose to remember, that our enterprise owes its origin. And it is to her, too, mainly—or, at least, to emigrants from her domain, that Africa owes those new settlements which she rejoices to see established on her coast; and which we are happy to hear are growing and thriving as we could wish. And we must and do feel, sir, that "the continued and increasing prosperity of those colonies" must, more and more, "illustrate the free and generous spirit of our commonwealth." For, it must serve to show to all the world, that our Virginia—the friend of liberty—is always and naturally disposed to favour any and every undertaking that can fairly promise to promote her cause—with *safety and advantage to all concerned*. It will show at least that we—her sons and daughters—do not hold our freedmen here in their actual state, by choice; but from necessity; and that we are ready and willing to make our half-free people of colour (hardly that) all free in the only manner in which we think it possible under circumstances, that we can make them so, consistently with their real welfare, as well as our own. And it will show, too, that though we cannot suffer our bond-men to be liberated, or rather emancipated, here—that is to continue here—when we know and feel beforehand, from actual and ample experience, that it would not, and could not, be good for them—nor for us—to have them mingled, or rather *confounded* among us—yet we are ready and willing to forward them when fairly manumitted by their masters, to their own fatherland—which is the proper place for them—and where they may be free indeed. Yes, sir, and we can rejoice with all our hearts, to hear from time to time, that they are going on, fairly and bravely, in their own way, copying our free institutions, and all our proceedings; and we can look indeed upon their amusing imitations of our actions, as parents look upon those of their little children before them—for we know, sir, that those little children will, by-and-by, be men—and worthy of their sires.

But, with these sentiments towards them, we must feel particularly pleased to hear, as we do, that satisfied and delighted as they are with their new land, they yet continue to cherish a grateful re-

membrance of their Old Virginia still. Sir, the report has told us with what joy they received the intelligence of our intention to found a new colony in Liberia, which should bear her honoured name ; and I am happy to be able to illustrate their sentiments on this point, a little more strongly, by a letter which I have received myself from one of them—a certain William Draper, formerly of our good town of Fredericksburg—a part of I must beg leave to read to you, (in spite of its mention of my speech again, which I hope you will excuse me for giving along with the rest,) only to show the filial feeling—the true Virginia feeling, I may say—which beats in all their breasts. It is enclosed, you see, sir, in an envelope, (the true congressional style, I believe,) and addressed to me. It is dated “Bassa Cove, August 17, 1837,” and reads thus—“Sir, with much pleasure to me to write to you this few lines, and am in hopes that you and the family are well. Sir, in reading one of the Colonization Herald of Pennsylvania Society, to my great joy I saw a piece from the Christian Intelligencer, the good people of my old state are about to settle a colony on the coast of Africa. Myself, I being a Virginian, born and raised in the town of Fredericksburg, when I saw that the good people of Virginia were about to plant a colony in this country, I leave with you and the friends of the cause to judge my feelings. True I had been in this country thirteen years, and returned on a visit in 1828. During my visit I had the pleasure of seeing you in Norfolk. Sir, we read your speech with much pleasure, and we have witnessed all that you have said concerning us and the emigrants from other states.” Here he refers to the remark which I made in it, that it was said that the emigrants from other states were a little jealous of our colonists from Virginia—accusing them, it seems, of being rather too fond of having all things their own way, (only of course to have them exactly right,) and you shall see, sir, how he confirms my words. *“A number of them do not like us ; but they can’t help themselves. We strive to do all that is right, and no more.* We have been the founders of almost all the different settlements, and there is some of us would leave property if we could do no otherways, and do all that we can for New Virginia. You may judge that there is some of us that would not be satisfied in no other colony while ever there was one called New Virginia.” Such, sir, are the sentiments—worthy of a true son of Virginia—which beat in the bosom of that man ; and not in his only, but, I am persuaded, in the bosoms of all the colonists who have gone out along with him from our state. And now, sir, ought they not to endear these colonies still more to us ; and encourage us to continue our care to them ; and prompt us, more particularly, to execute the plan which we have conceived of planting a New Virginia in Liberia, to extend and perpetuate the glory of the Old, in that country and throughout the world, to the end of time.

But, sir, we may also rejoice in the prosperity of these colonies, and ought to do so still more—as it serves to “display the pure and philanthropic genius of christianity, in the fairest and brightest

manner"—to the eyes of all mankind. Sir, if it was our Virginia that planted these colonies, it was christianity, let me tell you, that whispered in her ear, and put it in her heart to do it. It was christianity, in fact, that planted our Old Virginia herself, in a former age; and it is the same benignant Power that has planted Liberia—and that shall plant New Virginia too—in our day;—for a blessing to the whole human race. It is she, indeed, sir, and not *woman*, (lovely as she is, and dear to all our hearts,) it is christianity, sir, that is in the rainbow of the world;—uniting heaven and earth, and blending them both brightly and beautifully together, in a sacred and eternal covenant of peace and love. Aye, sir, and you may see that rainbow now—spanning the ocean that swathes our shore—and reconciling two continents that were some time strange and hostile to each other, but are now consenting and conspiring in this common cause. Yes, sir, America, (and our Virginia foremost,) has sent the gospel to Africa—by the hands of her own sons—by men of her own race;—a noble compensation for all the wrongs which she had done her—and Africa has received the grace, and is satisfied. So the cross has indeed been planted on her shore, (beaming more brightly than the sun;) and it shall be carried triumphantly into the interior—and through all her bounds—by her proper missionaries—to redeem and regenerate the land. Yes, sir, and christianity and civilization shall walk together through all the length and breadth of her dominions—diffusing their blessings around them—winning the poor barbarians from their wild pursuits and pastimes, to all the happy engagements, and sweet civilities of polished life—and “turning them from their dumb idols to the living God;”—and, in the language of sacred scripture, “the wilderness and the solitary places shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.”

The Hon. Henry A. Wise being present, was called out by the audience and addressed the meeting as follows:

“Mr. President, I find myself placed in a very embarrassing situation. I have just gotten out of the cars from the city of Washington. Upon arriving here, on a flying visit with a friend to this city, I was for the first time informed that this meeting was to be held here to-night; and being informed that you were to preside, I was tempted to attend, with the hope of hearing what we have all listened to with so much pleasure, an address from you, sir, without the least expectation that I should be called on to make an address myself. And, sir, I, a perfect stranger here, must be pardoned if I am confounded by the surprise of being thus called on so suddenly to address an enlightened audience like this, here assembled, without the least note of preparation, either of thought or word, on a subject so great and imposing as that of this occasion.

But, sir, my embarrassment does not proceed alone from the want of preparation to meet the subject and the occasion. I feel myself more embarrassed by the peculiar attitude which I have for several years past assumed towards the Colonization Society. At the outset of my career in life, sir, I left this my mother state, and

like many of her sons, emigrated to the land of the West. There, in the state of Tennessee, I was appointed the secretary of a State Colonization Society, and I became the zealous and active friend and advocate of the great original principles of the design to secure and fortify the institution of slavery itself, by colonizing the free people of color, particularly those of the slave-holding states, on the shores of Africa. After some years absence I returned to this good old Commonwealth, and continued the friend of colonization until the first session after I was elected a member of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

During the session of 1833-4, a meeting of the parent society was held at Washington, at which there were sentiments openly avowed and proceedings attempted which alarmed many of the best and oldest friends of the cause with apprehensions as to its subsequent effects and tendencies, and which caused myself, among others, to look on it then and since with a jealous eye. You, no doubt, sir, remember the meeting to which I allude. It was the meeting at which the notorious Gerrit Smith daringly insisted that the ultimate object of the colonization society should be *to abolish slavery*; that the north should have the control of the society, because its patrons from that quarter had subscribed most of its funds; forgetting, by-the-by, that a single deed or will of voluntary emancipation in the south gave tens of thousands in *property*, where the most zealous northern philanthropists subscribed tens in *dollars and cents*; it was there he openly avowed that the time had then come when the institution should begin to move directly towards the end he aimed at; and, sir, it was then and there that the Rev. Mr. Breckinridge denounced Old Virginia as like Nebuchadnezzar's image—part iron or brass and part clay, and ready to be broken in pieces! That meeting, I say, alarmed me, sir, among others of the warm friends of this cause, and has made me stand aloof at least for the last four years, from an active co-operation in its great work. Up to the present moment, indeed, I have been watching the tendencies of the society, to see whether it would be safe for us of the south to participate in its operations. I feared that the sentiments and influence of the Gerrit Smith party would pervert the society from its original purposes and ends; and, above all, I feared that colonization would be made to sow a seed of disunion in the slave-holding states, at a time when, soon after that meeting, *the footsteps of abolition across the Potomac were traced in blood*.

The scenes of the summer of 1835, when the flaming torches of abolition were hurled in our midst, kindling all the combustibles of civil disorder,—threatening to burn down our very post-offices and to consume the reign of law,—founding the bloody and summary Lynch code on the cinders of its fires,—will not soon be forgotten in the south. And, sir, it was, as you well know, at the session of congress immediately succeeding these awful scenes, that it was thought the time had come for the south to act in congress; and, the time being auspicious, as I imagined, to obtain a recog-

nition of our guarantees from the friends of a northern candidate for the presidency, I moved certain resolutions in the house, in defence of the institutions of the slave-holding states. But, notwithstanding the favourable moment and all its immense aids of ambition and avarice for offices and their honours and emoluments—another so favourable, I fear, will never again occur—I regret to say, without reproaches now to any, that the south was utterly unsuccessful, and defeated in obtaining from congress any declaratory pledges, whatever, for the security of its rights and the protection of its peace. The south itself was disunited, torn, divided and distracted. It was then demonstrated that *it was utterly impossible to unite a majority in congress on any ground upon which the slave-holding states could safely stand.* And, sir, I here proclaim in the capitol of this slave-holding state—to all whom it may concern—that now the same truth prevails—the *slaveholder cannot rely upon any position of defence against abolition, upon which a majority of the senators and representatives of the whole people of the United States can be brought to unite!* This truth is solemnly confirmed by the discussion and proceedings now at this moment agitating the senate chamber of the national capitol, and now shaking the very pillars of the constitution and the union. Take it home with you—all of you—and reflect upon it seriously and gravely.

Where then is our safety? In what does our security consist? Sir, in one thing alone. But one principle of action will save us and ours:—*union among ourselves!—the union of the whole South!* The south must stand as *one man*—firmly, fixed, united—presenting an undivided front—an impenetrable phalanx—uttering no threats—throwing back no denunciations—the time of debating and murmuring is past—but *ready to act*; and, though a *minority*, yet a minority *united* in solid and solemn purpose, can and will deter any majority which may ever threaten to attack their peace, their property, their constitutional rights, and their lives! They should unite as brethren, literally of the same faith and the same fathers, on this vital question—as men, women and children, involved in one and the same common danger, and bound to defend the same common honour, interests and rights. Away, then, with all pitiful, petty, party division, at this crisis of our fate! The man or politician who now would seize on this fatal topic for personal, political or party ends, should be “*anathema maranatha!*” Let the slave-holding states but be united on this question, so infinitely above all party strife, and they have nothing to fear against all the world combined.

Sir, these were the reasons—the fear that the abolition party in the parent society might succeed in perverting colonization from its original design, coupled with the strongest desire and conviction that nothing should be permitted to divide the south—which have caused me for a time to withdraw my humble countenance and support from this cause. I am even now somewhat *skittish*, I confess, but Gerrit Smith, who showed the cloven foot but partially in

1833-'34, has since been constrained to exhibit himself in his true and glaring colours of an abolitionist—his party has signally failed to swerve the Colonization Society from its first principles—they have separated themselves from it and joined to their own idols—they have openly declared war against colonization, and their hostility now tends to drive the Colonization Society, if it ever began to desert them, back to its original principles and plans of operation, and to keep it pressed close to those walls of safety. This has almost, if not altogether, allayed my fears and revived my hopes concerning this great cause. The line of demarcation is now too strongly drawn, I hope, between colonization and abolition ever to be crossed. Their principles are diametrically opposed to each other, and their warfare will tend to press each to occupy its appropriate ground and position. The Colonization Society must now maintain that great original principle upon which it was founded:—“*Friendship to the SLAVE-HOLDER.*” Never let it be forgotten or departed from. It stands in direct contrast to that upon which, according to their own pretensions, and the construction of charity, the abolitionists have founded their society—“*Philanthropy to the SLAVE!*”

“It is very obvious, sir, that these two principles, as interpreted by the respective societies, and applied to their actual operations, tend to very different and opposite results. The abolition society denounces slavery as a *sin*; summons the *abstract* principles of right and justice, and an imaginary law of heaven, to destroy the most holy obligations of political right and justice, founded upon constitutional compact among men; appeals to prejudices and passions the most dangerous, because most fanatical, to release a portion of mankind from an alleged cruel and oppressive bondage; inflames and agitates the public mind, by threatening to demolish all established social relations; arouses a religious zeal in a crusade against the peace and order and union of a nation; teaches and preaches insurrection to the slave; encourages Lynch-law, and hallows the victims of its penalties with the glory of martyrdom; calumniates and curses the slaveholder; hurls its incendiaryism against his life; attacks and attempts to render unsafe the institution of slavery, and thereby tightens the fetters of the slave and makes his chains more galling; opposes the colonization of the free-man of colour in a land where the black man may be the fellow of man, and advances the horrible amalgamation of him, here in the land of his degradation, with those to whom his mere association is contamination the most abhorrent and revolting! The Colonization Society sacredly regards slavery as a civil institution of the country, which, upon the principle of the lesser yielding to the greater good, cannot be attacked by the law of humanity, and must necessarily be tolerated and sustained from motives and reasons of policy; defends all the eternal and immutable principles of right, and religiously promotes the obvious decrees of heaven, whilst it faithfully obeys the paramount laws of the state; appeals to the reason and enlightened consciences of men, and to that calm

and peaceful religion which ever righteously interposes to ameliorate the various conditions of *all* men, and which wisely *wins* the powerful to assist the weak—the unbound, the bound; hushes the din of discord, and by a charm preserves our peace by reconciling our moral duties with our social and political rights and interests; invokes the love of union; teaches and preaches obedience to servants; supports the majesty of the laws by respecting public sentiment, and classes all the disturbers of the public peace together, inspires the slaveholder with confidence, and addresses itself alone to his affections; removes the enemies of his peace and safety; guards and renders safe the title of his property and its enjoyment, and thereby obtains for the slave the indulgences which the slackened cord of confidence yields without cause of fear; incidentally facilitates voluntary emancipation, by sloughing off the free colored population always in the way of freedom to the slave; strengthens and upholds the friends of the slaveholder where he needs friends most, where there are no ties and associations of slavery to plead for the institution, and where in the north it is a sword to pierce abolition; and, above all these special benefits, its great aim is that which makes the grandeur of this cause rise to sublimity—*to make light shine out of darkness, to colonize a nation of free-men in their fatherland out of our kitchen of slaves!*

“Yes, sir, the existence and operation of *abolition* but add to the special benefits of colonization. It not only renders the institution of slavery secure at home among ourselves, but it grants the only ground on which our friends can stand, in the non-slave-holding states, among our enemies, who are daily multiplying in numbers and increasing in power. But, sir, I repeat that the special benefits of this cause to this nation, are nothing compared with its general benefits to all mankind—to all posterity—to Africa—to the world. In contemplating the vast ultimate design and effects of this great scheme, of lighting up a whole land, now shrouded in the blackness of darkness, I have often been struck with a thought which justifies slavery itself in the abstract, and which has made me wonder and adore a gracious special Providence. Aye, sir, a special Providence—bad a man as some may have been taught to believe me to be—I, sir, even *I*, do firmly, if not faithfully, intellectually, if not religiously, believe in a great and good over-ruling special Providence. And, sir, I as firmly believe that *slavery on this continent is the gift of heaven to Africa*. Is it unworthy of the Divine purpose, or impious to suppose that it was by God intended to be the sun of the illumination of that land of night? Cannot one well see the hand of the Everlasting Almighty—who worketh not in a day or generation—in making *one generation serve for another* of the same people? Is there aught religiously wrong in making an *idolatrous pagan sire work out the civilization and christianity of a son*? What mortal can say that the *slavery of the sire* was not divinely intended to be the *consideration*—and is it any thing more than a fair equivalent—for the arts of life and the lights of truth *to his posterity*? Africa gave to Virginia a savage and a

slave—Virginia gives back to Africa *a citizen* and *a christian!* Against which does the balance lie? If this was not the Divine will, let those who object tell me how came *African* slavery here? Sir, it is a mystery, if not thus explained. When our fathers landed on the shores of my venerable district, did they find a population fair as the forests of the land? Who roamed those forests? Were *they* too not savages, ignorant, rude, barbarous and uncivilized as the negro of Guinea's coast? Were *they* not as fit for *slavery?* Did not the war of massacre, of tomahawk and scalping knife give the fairest pretext for slavery, by the right of capture and subjugation? Boast as we may of the royal race of aborigines who lorded it over this domain—of the kingly Powhatan, the peerless Pocahontas—the common Indians of North America were just as fit for slavery, and ready here at hand, as the savages of Africa's desert strands—*they were enslaved by the Yankees.* Why, then, were slaves brought three thousand miles across the ocean, leaving our neighbouring tribes of savages untouched by yoke or chain? Why but to return civilization for slavery? Who so fit to be the pioneer of civilization in Africa, as the *black man?* Its light expires—has always gone out in the hand of the white man. And what will the civilization of Africa not do, in the end, for mankind—for the world, its arts, its science, its commerce, its peace and happiness, and for freedom? What new fields will it not explore? The subject is vast and unbounded! I say then, sir, send forth your missionaries, with light and love, to the land of night, until that 'dry nurse of lions' shall become the nursery of arts and science, and civilization and law, and order and religion!

"Sir, I did not mean to say more than to apologize for not making a speech, and to thank, cordially thank, this meeting for its flattering notice and kind attention.*

"The speeches delivered at this meeting exhibited a power and variety of eloquence which has been seldom witnessed in the capitol of the Old Dominion. The sentiments advocated by the speakers were responded to with great enthusiasm, on the part of the audience. The indications of the growing popularity of this institution, among the people of Virginia, are unequivocal.

* In a letter to the secretary of the meeting, relative to the foregoing speech, Mr. Wise says:—"The speech which I made at Richmond was intended to express at the time only *my own peculiar views* of colonization, and advance the arguments and reasons which recommended the cause to *me.*"

"The following persons were elected officers for the ensuing year:

Hon. JOHN TYLER, President.

Vice-Presidents.

**His Ex. Gov. CAMPBELL,
WILLIAM MAXWELL,
ABEL P. UPSHUR,
JOHN H. COCKE,
EDWARD COLSTON,
LEWIS SUMMERS,
S. S. BAXTER,**

**Hon. CHARLES F. MERCER,
JAMES M. GARNETT,
Hon. WILLIAM C. RIVES,
JAMES McDOWELL,
JOHN F. MAY,
Dr. THOMAS MASSIE,
Hon. HENRY A. WISE.**

JOSEPH MAYO, Corresponding Secretary.

**DAVID I. BURR, Recording Secretary.
BENJAMIN BRAND, Treasurer**

Managers.

**NICHOLAS MILLS,
JAMES E. HEATH,
JOHN H. EUSTACE,
FLEMING JAMES,
Dr. F. H. DEANE,**

**WM. H. MCFARLAND,
GUSTAVUS A. MYERS,
HALL NEILSON,
JAMES C. CRANE,
PEACHY R. GRATAN.**

"The following is the letter from which Mr. Maxwell made a short extract in his address at the annual meeting of the society :

"To William Maxwell, Esq.

"SIR :—With much pleasure to me to write you this few lines, and am in hopes that you and the family are well. Sir, in reading one of the Colonization Herald of Pennsylvania Society, to my great joy I saw a piece from the Christian Intelligencer; the good people of my old state are about to settle a colony on the coast of Africa. Myself, I being a Virginian, born and raised in the town of Fredericksburg, when I saw that the good people of Virginia were about to plant a colony in this country, I leave with you and the friends to the cause to judge my feelings. True I have been in this country thirteen years, and returned on a visit in 1828. During my visit I had the pleasure of seeing you in Norforlk. Sir, we read your speech with much pleasure; and we have witnessed all that you have said concerning us and the emigrants from other states. A number of them do not like us; but they can't help themselves. We strive to do that that is right and no more. We have been the founders of almost all the different settlements, and there is some of us would leave property, if we could do no other way, and do all that we can for New Virginia. You may judge that there is some of us that would not be satisfied in no other colony while ever there was one called New Virginia. I am here at this place, building the agency's house, which will be done in short if nothing happens; and I have also on hand a small schooner

of 25 tons burthen, building her myself, which is the third one that I have built; and this one I had named a year ago. I thought of the place where I was raised, and called the then intended vessel the Rappahannock of Virginia. I will now say something about the coast. I am well acquainted from as high up as the Galinas, and as low down as Batton, which is about two hundred and sixty miles from the Cape, that is from Monrovia; and I do not know of any place that can be got but one—that is to say good place but one, which place is called Baffa Bay. It have a fine harbour; it have a small river; but I do not know how far it runs in the interior. The country is called *Tassin*. I had a factory at that place in 1833. The natives are very willing that there should be a colony settled there. They sent up here about four months ago, for the agent to send some people down there with me. This place is about thirty or thirty-five miles from *Sinno*, and at least seventy miles from this place. I have nothing at present; but am in hopes that the God which I am striving to serve may be with you, and all the society. May the grace of God be with you now and forevermore. Amen. I am

WILLIAM DRAPER."

"The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have established a missionary station at Fair Hope, Cape Palmas, where they have one missionary, the Rev. John Leighton Wilson, one printer, Benjamin Van Rensselaer James, and one female assistant missionary, Mrs. Wilson—total three.

"Mr. and Mrs. Wilson represent themselves as enjoying good health and much solid happiness. The more they know of their field of labour, the more reason do they find to think highly of it. Mr. W. has made three tours, the past year, into the interior. One was to the chief town in the Bololo territory, thirty miles from the station. Another was to a considerable town on the Cavally river, twenty miles from its mouth, and thirty-five from Fair Hope. The third, made last spring, was to Grabba, eighty-five miles from the town last mentioned, and one hundred and twenty from the station. He describes the country in the interior, and especially along the Cavally river, as of surpassing beauty and fertility. The population also is greater than was supposed. A circle, with a radius of thirty miles from Cape Palmas, would embrace, it was thought, from forty to fifty thousand souls.

"The boarding school is an interesting feature in this mission. The number of scholars is fifty, a fourth part of whom are females. One of the lads gives evidence of piety, and others are silently inquiring what they must do to be saved. There are four day schools, including one at Rocktown, containing about one hundred pupils. The day schools are taught by coloured people. Seven hundred copies of a 'First Reading Book of the Greybo Language,' of sixteen pages, have been neatly printed at the mission press.

"The people in the surrounding country," says Mr. Wilson, in a letter to the board, dated January 28th, "are more and more de-

sirous of missionaries. Before our brother White was taken sick he received applications from four different settlements, to make his abode with them. The fact being understood that he was to live at Cape Palmas, we received delegates from two kings, with the request that we would send them to America, with letters, (books,) that they might get white men for themselves. As one of these men stood in the middle of the floor urging, in broken English, his own cause, our dear brother White was affected almost to tears. Said he, 'Oh that our dear brethren at home could hear this man for themselves—if I live they shall hear it.' He will never communicate it; but in his name I lay it at their feet."

"The board have also a mission among the Zoolahs in South Africa, having two missionary stations and five missionaries, one of them a physician, one physician, and four female assistant missionaries—total ten. This mission is prospering, and promises to do much for the cause of Christ among the poor heathen of that land.

"In concluding their report, the managers would express their deep conviction—more deep by another year's experience, that the plan of African colonization is eminently the friend of the South. The prohibitions of the free states, with regard to the admission of the free blacks, is well known, and should the example of Mississippi be followed by the other slave-holding states of the southwest—as it must be soon—either a channel must be opened for this population to flow off in the direction of Africa, or it must multiply among us in a new ratio of increase, to its own ultimate injury, and the prejudice of the public good; therefore the early preparation of an asylum on a large scale, is called for, not only by the principles of sound policy, but by the much higher considerations of humanity and justice."

"Twenty years have elapsed since the fathers of the institution assembled on that occasion, and the fruits of their wisdom and benevolence are now maturing in the growth and prosperity of christian communities on the African coast—but recently the home of barbarism, superstition, and the refuge of crime. The great experiment they proposed, has been tried, and proved successful. They have demonstrated both its practicableness and beneficence before their country and the world. It remains for the American people to decide whether a scheme which a private association, with scanty resources, derived mostly from individual contributions, opposed by hostile opinions at every step of its progress, and obliged to meet and conquer all the difficulties of colonization in a distant, wild, and savage country, has so well com-

menced, shall be accomplished in all its magnitude, by the public treasure and power. We rejoice to know that the subject of appropriating funds in aid of this object, is under consideration, both in the legislatures of Virginia and Pennsylvania."

Thus we see that some of the first men in all the south are colonizationists, and some of the best of the free coloured population look to colonization as the proper remedy by which those now free may enjoy in the land of their fathers that freedom. On the subject of colonization, at present, we will only add an extract from the letter of a coloured man, read on the same occasion, and making a few other quotations and remarks, dismiss it. We have alluded to public sentiment in the south on the subject of colonization. We cannot set this forth better than it is done in this same report of the Virginia Colonization Society. They say :

"The evidences of public favour exhibited toward this enterprise in Virginia, during the past year, the board take pleasure in reporting, are more numerous and unequivocal than those of any similar period of time, since their connection with the society. It is well known, that the friends of the object made an effort to obtain from the last legislature, such an alteration of the act of 1833, as would render the appropriation therein made, available; being satisfied that the legislature of that year never could have intended that act to remain a dead letter. They failed to obtain the alteration; but evidence has accumulated since, to prove the fact, (of which the best informed had at the time no doubt,) that the sentiments of the people of the state were not represented by the vote taken upon the proposed alteration. And although the managers do not intend to renew their application, being of opinion that such application will be more effectually made by the people themselves, they would report to the society, that their correspondence has, up to this date, extended over about fifty counties; from these, evidences of unpopularity have been received but in one instance. It appears, from the testimony of the most respectable gentlemen, that this enterprise is warmly approved by the great majority of the citizens of various parts of the country. Assurances have been received from gentlemen of the first standing, and of extensive acquaintance, that in many of the counties below Richmond, the objects of the society are regarded with general approbation. In view of these facts, and in view of the known sentiments of the great lights of Virginia, from Gen. Washington to Chief Justice Marshall, the hope of more liberal aid is confidently indulged. In the judgment of the board, the time cannot be far distant when all

must see, that the Colonization Society has been uniformly faithful to the interests of the South, and that it proposes still to further those interests, to the extent of its ability. In their judgment it has a direct and powerful tendency to suppress fanatical and dangerous excitements, by whatever cause provoked, as shown in the history of the past year, both at the north and the south, and in this opinion they are happy to find themselves sustained by the governor of Maryland, in his late message to the legislature of that state. He uses the following language: 'We herewith present the Annual Report of the Board of Managers appointed under the act of 1831, entitled an act relating to the people of colour of this state, and it gives us pleasure to call the attention of the legislature, to the diligence and success of the gentlemen whose gratuitous services have been rendered to the state, since the adoption of the system indicated in the act last mentioned. The plan of independent state action, first suggested in Maryland—pursued by the state society, and countenanced by the managers of the state fund—appears to us to be that which is best suited to the condition of the slave-holding states of the union. It repudiates all foreign and unsolicited interference, whether by the general government, societies or individuals, with the subject of slavery, within the limits of the states where it exists, and leaves it to each state, exclusively, to adopt such measures in regard to it, as are suited to its peculiar circumstances. The plan has been so far successfully pursued, as will be seen by the accompanying report, that there is now in prosperous existence on the coast of Africa, a settlement of emigrants from this state, under the separate control of the State Colonization Society, appropriated to the use of emigrants from Maryland, and now capable of receiving any number that may be prepared to emigrate.'

"When the proceedings of our last annual meeting reached the colony, a public meeting was called, the proceedings of which appear in two letters addressed to the corresponding secretary of this society. The following are extracts:—'At a public meeting of a number of citizens of this place, it was, on motion, *Resolved*, That the proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Virginia Colonization Society, together with Mr. Maxwell's speech, be read. On motion, *Resolved*, That we hear with great pleasure, that the people of Virginia are turning their attention more effectually to colonize their own people on the west coast of Africa. On motion, *Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to correspond with the Virginia Colonization Society, and give said society such information as they may think best, for the furtherance of their cause.' Another colonist, a native of Richmond, writes as follows: 'That colonization has done this, (alluding to the improved condition of the emigrants,) the colonies planted on the coast of Africa are a standing proof, and done this too under every possible embarrassment. It was with peculiar satisfaction, I read a few days ago, a resolution expressive of the determination of Virginia to settle a colony on this coast, to be called 'New Virginia.' To me, who

am a Virginian by birth, the intelligence was peculiarly gratifying. For, notwithstanding existing circumstances impel me to the selection of a distant country, as a place of residence, yet I cannot but feel a degree of attachment to the land that gave me birth, and I am thereby prepared to take a lively interest in every thing that concerns its projected colony. I need not say that it would afford me the utmost pleasure to do any thing in my power to facilitate your designs, in the way of giving information about the coast or otherwise.'

"To the credit of these colonies it ought to be recorded, that although the most vigorous efforts were made by the abolitionists to poison their minds, by actually sending to Africa and distributing among them, their inflammatory papers, public meetings were called, and by a series of strong resolutions, the abolitionists were rebuked.

"On motion of Rev. I. Revey, *Resolved*, That this meeting entertain the warmest gratitude for what the American Colonization Society has done for the people of colour, and for us particularly ; and that we regard the scheme as entitled to the highest confidence of every man of colour.

"On motion of Mr. H. Teage, *Resolved*, That this meeting regard the colonization institution as one of the highest, holiest, and most benevolent enterprises of the present day. That as a plan for the melioration of the condition of the coloured race, it takes the precedence of all that have been presented to the attention of the modern world. That in its operations, it is peaceful and safe ; in its tendencies, beneficial and advantageous. That it is entitled to the highest veneration, and unbounded confidence of every man of colour. That what it has already accomplished, demands our devout thanks and gratitude, to those noble and disinterested philanthropists who compose it, as being under God, the greatest earthly benefactors of a despised and oppressed portion of the human family.

"Whereas, it has been widely and maliciously circulated in the United States of America, that the inhabitants of this colony are unhappy in their situation, and anxious to return. On motion of Rev. B. R. Wilson, *Resolved*, That the report is false and malicious, and originated only in design to injure the colony, by calling off the support and sympathy of its friends ; that so far from a desire to return, we should regard such an event as the greatest evil that could befall us."

"During the past year, one new settlement has been added to the eight previously existing on the coast. This is at Sinoe, between Bassa Cove and Cape Palmas, and is under the patronage of the State Colonization Societies of Mississippi and Louisiana. We have now the best evidence that the colonies are turning their attention chiefly to agriculture and the useful arts. Various societies, lyceums, &c. have been formed among them for their improvement. Among the articles which offer a rich reward to colonial industry, may be enumerated the palm tree, the various

and important uses of which are well known. An American missionary, stationed upon the borders of Maryland, in Liberia, writes at a recent date, that he explained the doctrines of the christian religion to an assembly of six hundred natives, in the open air. He had also a school of one hundred boys, some of them the sons of the kings of the country, many of whom, as reported by Capt. Nicholson, could read the English language with ease and propriety. By the aid and protection of the English and American colonies, the work of christianizing the native tribes is advancing from many points toward the interior. The English have possession not only at Sierra Leone and Cape Coast Castle, but also upon the Gambia and Senegal. The English Wesleyans have in the settlements upon the Gambia, five hundred and thirty-eight members of their communion, and two hundred and twenty scholars; and at other points more than one thousand members, and twelve hundred scholars. The progress of christianity in Africa will be greatly facilitated by the English commerce, which is taking possession of the Niger, and by the influence of the American merchant, who is turning with much interest, to the many sources of profitable trade unfolded by the colonists of Liberia. But we are reminded that the favourable picture here drawn, of the condition and prospects of Africa, is but comparatively true, when contrasted with the past history of that miserable continent. From the movements of different nations, we cannot doubt that the decree for the moral and political regeneration of Africa has gone forth; but the work of executing it is immense, and yet to be performed. Subjected from time immemorial, to a systematic and terrible aggression—to robbery and murder, from the pirates of all nations, her wrongs cannot be redressed in a day."

With some of the coloured men named in this report we are personally acquainted, and we would trust their judgments in the matters herein alluded to, as soon as we would trust those of any men.

To confirm what is herein stated we will appeal lastly to the absolute fact, that colonization is regenerating Africa. At least sixty missionaries of different denominations are now at work on the borders of the different colonies among the heathen, on the western coast of Africa alone, independent of ministers in colonies. Hundreds of children have been educated; many young and old people have been converted to christianity, and the cry of the chiefs and tribes is, "Send God man from big America! Africa man, fool man! Merica man, 'book man!' Send book—book—heap of book." This is the cry that comes from bleeding Africa, which the abolition-

ists will not hear, and which they strive to suppress. We have seen in another part of this work that this is a method that is natural. We have shown also that any other is unjust. We now show that this is practicable. If we look for one moment at the increasing trade of Africa, and take into the account that as trade increases, so also will necessarily increase the facilities of transportation, and the desire on the part of the free coloured population to go thither, for they see and know that they cannot enjoy *freedom* here. Experience proves to them daily that this is a fact. A passage to Africa now costs but about \$25, and they are aided to procure this passage; who would have believed that one hundred thousand foreigners could be transported in a year, almost imperceptibly, to the United States, and yet the number often exceeds this. Only let this nation *unite* to show the free coloured people that it is to their advantage to go,—thousands will be ready—thousands are now ready; the means of removal are constantly augmenting, and the day is not far distant, when on the wings of almost every breeze, ships will be borne over the blue waters of the Atlantic freighted with the sons and daughters of Africa, carrying back to the land of their fathers, the great blessings of civilization, light, liberty and religion. And as masters and mistresses desire voluntarily to set their slaves free, there will be a home provided ready to receive them. The condition of the slave population here will become better by a thousand fold. Their owners will abide in a state of safety, and have the greater desire to reward the faithfulness of their servants by a permission to return to their “fatherland.” This also is the safe plan. It removes from this country a class of persons, *called free*, whose anomalous condition is such that they must ever continue comparatively at least in a state of degradation. Here they never can enjoy equal rights and equal privileges; this is *impossible*, this is *unnatural*, *unjust*, and it is also *unsafe*. To remove them to Africa cuts off at one stroke all danger to either party. Whilst it frees America from the curse of such a population, it exalts the coloured man in Africa to all the rights of a

freeman, it brings Africa itself under the benign influence of civilization and religion. It raises the savage to the blessedness of civilized life ; it pays back the debt due by the civilized world to that oppressed portion of our globe, and will ultimately cause that every African river shall be alive with ships and boats engaged in exporting and importing articles of trade. The comforts of every clime shall be carried thither. The slave trade now denounced as piracy will be ended, fields will be cultivated, cities will rise up as by magic, churches will rear their lofty steeples toward the skies, and point to God as their owner. The Sabbath morning will be hailed with the sound of "the church-going bell," "the wilderness and the solitary place shall rejoice and become glad, and the desert itself shall blossom as a rose." Already the work is begun. Thank heaven, it is not in the power of abolitionism to stop the current ! The tide sets toward Africa. Thither the free coloured race are bending their course. Their vacant places here are rapidly supplied by a free white population from abroad. Missionaries, teachers, printers, have gone, and others are on the way, or ready to go to Africa. Thousands of good and true men are already on those shores with their families and ministers. Kings and whole tribes are asking for schools and the gospel, and America says they shall have them. The day is not distant, when the morning shall break after a long and dreary night, the clouds shall disperse, and the sun of gospel light and civilization shall arise with meridian splendour, "and the glory of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the great deep." Africa shall—Africa must be redeemed. She as well as other dark nations calls for help, and help shall come.

"From Greenland's icy mountains,
 From India's coral strands,
 Where Afric's sunny fountains
 Roll down their golden sands;
 From every ancient river,
 From every palmy plain,
 They call us to deliver
 Their souls from error's chain."

Shall it be done? The south says it shall. What will the north say? Blessed be God, there are ten to one in the north and the east who say in the language of *their* noble son, the pious Cox, a missionary to Africa, "AFRICA MUST BE REDEEMED! LET A THOUSAND MISSIONARIES FALL BEFORE AFRICA IS GIVEN UP." To which let every christian respond a hearty AMEN.

PART VIII.

DR. CHANNING'S PAMPHLET ON "THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS." HIS SPECIAL OBJECT IN ADDRESSING IT TO THE HON. HENRY CLAY. BRITISH PREDILECTIONS ITS ORIGIN, THIS PROVED BY QUOTATIONS FROM DR. C. ITS SUBJECT NOTHING MORE NOR LESS THAN SLAVERY. ITS GENERAL OBJECT. TEXAS DISCOVERED BY LA SALLE, A PART OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, AND CONSEQUENTLY, ONCE, A COMPONENT PART OF THE UNITED STATES' TERRITORY. CAPTAIN WEAVER'S PAMPHLET IN ANSWER TO GORISTIZA. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN DON LUIS DE ONIS AND HON. J. Q. ADAMS. ARTICLES OF TREATY BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES. THE LETTERS OF MR. NICHOLAS BIDDLE, LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BANK, AND PROFESSOR HARE, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS. REMARKS OF GEN. HENRY STEWART FOOTE. APPLICATION OF DR. C'S PRINCIPLES TO HIMSELF. THE PROPER OBJECT OF OUR REMARKS AND QUOTATIONS.

THE third pamphlet of Dr. Channing is on the annexation of Texas to the United States, and we proceed now to examine it. At first view there appears to be something very remarkable in the fact, that Dr. Channing has addressed this strange appeal to the Hon. **HENRY CLAY**. To that senator, who threw himself into the breach on the Missouri question, *the representative of a slave-holding state*, himself a slaveholder, and who has been already *marked* and *excommunicated* by abolitionists, and one of those senators, too, who sustained that noble prayer of Mississippi for the acknowledgment of Texan independence. But all this will vanish when we reflect that through the influence of Mr. Clay's name,

Dr. C. hoped the better to succeed in obtaining "access," to use his own language, "to many who would turn away from the consideration of his thoughts before they were presented in a more general form," and by this aid, "scale the barrier which now excludes from the south a certain class of (abolition) writings of the north." We are not surprised at this back-handed blow at that distinguished statesman, the honourable senator from Kentucky. Our surprise is much greater at an expression of reluctance, on the part of Dr. C. to enter on this subject, not, at the fact that he does it, or the means he uses in doing it. We would have thought it more in keeping if he had frankly avowed his determination to do all in his power, and "leave," as he says, "no stone unturned" to insult and injure the south. This would have been consistent. Dr. C's apology for appearing before the public, taken in connection with the fact that he had called up, and brought already twice before the American people, the Subject of Slavery, is adding insult to injury. Dr. C. is willing to select any topic when he desires to accomplish an end, and in the sequel we shall see that, however he may have entered upon it with "great reluctance," he has done it with a bitterness and rancour which show how much he delights in this work of *division*. We therefore clear him, as he is wont to clear himself, of "caution, circumlocution, and plausible softenings of language," and in our remarks shall have to show him, as we believe he is, a downright, open, violent abolitionist, who on this, as on other points, is determined that the south, the constitution to the contrary notwithstanding, shall bend or break.

The first points we propose to consider are the true origin, and then the avowed object of this pamphlet. We leave the real question of the annexation of Texas with our statesmen and the country. We are to consider Dr. C's pamphlet, and we shall do this apart from those considerations which do now or may hereafter point out the true policy of this country respecting the annexation of Texas. We are truly sorry to say that on reading it carefully and calmly, we are forced to the conclusion, that it forms only a part of that plan, which has been so

long and systematically carried on, by some men, whereby to attack, insult, and the better to assault the south, and destroy all its proper, and legitimate or constitutional influence, in the councils of this great confederacy. We have no intention to enter ourself as one among those, whose very existence is dependent on the way-side, partisan, political slang of the day. Far, very far from this are both our purpose and desire. But when we coolly consider that system of opposition which has been for many years carried on both in and out of congress, when we behold the unnatural alliances which are formed with *foreign associations*, the better to succeed in that opposition, by sundry societies, as well as *distinguished individuals*, he must be blind indeed who does not perceive that the true origin of all this, is "opposition to the south." The cry is, "raze it, raze it, to the very foundations thereof." Were we to come out and charge Dr. Channing and *others* with a want of patriotism, we should be excommunicated from the pale of christianity, and patriotism too, as being wanting in charity and all the feelings that bind fellow-citizens together. Be that as it may, our doctrine is, "by their works ye shall know them." And when we hear the fulsome praise, and behold the *sycophantic adulation* of tyrant England, a *slave-holding government*; and know that individuals are sounding her acts in high places, to wound, insult, injure, and oppress a portion of their own countrymen, we frankly confess that, for ourselves, we cannot unite in proclaiming them as *samples* of patriotism. Dr. C. cannot be ignorant of the fact that slavery was imposed on the south by Great Britain, and that the north aided as far its means and interests went in what abolitionists are wont to call that "bloody and black-hearted work." Dr. C. knows that the constitution of the United States secures to the south its right of property in their slaves, and that as one of the reserved rights of the slave-holding states, the free states have no right to interfere in it at all, *no, not even the congress of the United States*, any more than the south has the right to petition congress to order a black husband and a black wife from the south,

for every white woman and white man of the north. And yet this question is presented where they have no right to bring it, and more than once has this union been on the point of a dissolution, by such rash and impudent interference.

In that system which has been carried on, the slaveholding states have just cause of complaint that many have sought almost constantly, to monopolize the entire trade of the south, and render it tributary to and dependent on them, for all those fabrics which southerners, from the nature of their population are forced to use. English predilections, an extravagant, and a protective tariff and the intermeddling with slavery, one institution of the south with which foreign states have no right to interfere, have one after the other been brought on, until the union has been on the verge of dissolution. There is no American who feels as he ought to feel, that will not denounce British interference, with our concerns. And yet when we look over Doctor Channing's tract on the annexation of Texas, we perceive this to be one of the prime sources from whence originated that work. His very first reason is that "England has a *moral interest* in this question, a strong public feeling impels that government to resist as far as may be the extension of slavery." We suppose Dr. C. means by "as far as may be" in the United States. "England," says he, "is a privileged nation." With the exception of the promulgation of christianity, says the Doctor, "I know not a moral effort so glorious, as the long, painful, victorious struggle of her philanthropists, against the concentration of all horrors, cruelties, and crimes, the slave trade. Her recent *emancipation act*, is the most signal expression afforded by our times of the progress of civilization and a *pure christianity*. He knows not that history records a national act so disinterested, so sublime." And have the United States done nothing against the slave trade? is a nation that holds a hundred millions of Hindostanese, in bondage *the most abject*, the very pink of *morality*? what does such language mean? of what is it indicative; but to that sycophantic bowing, which characterized some during the last war to the power that dared to rob our ships, and impress and

murder our brothers on the high seas. It is a part of that very plan that did jeopard the liberty of our country, at the moment in which, the *vile* Cockburn and his *corrupt and polluted soldiery led on by negroes*, as their pilots and guides, were robbing alike the *hen-roosts* and *warehouses*, *stealing slaves, imprisoning* the aged, and insulting and striving to *ravish* the fair daughters of the south. This is the moral nation, these are the christians, and christianity shall surely "die with them."

How insulting is the language used by Dr. C. in this virtual exposition of the origin of his piece against "the annexation of Texas, to the United States." "England is a privileged nation." England has the right to interfere in our concerns. "England has a moral interest as well as a political one," and England has the right to say, do this if you dare to both Texas and the United States. She may turn her negroes free on the Island of Jamaica, to fall back from order, civilization and religion, and endanger our peace, liberty and lives. She may interfere in our matters, she "is a privileged nation." She may send a *vile wretch*, a Thompson here, to raise routs and riots in our midst, and, let the south stand still, all is well. Our northern brethren may form associations, and unite with such in England the "privileged nation" to overwhelm the south in ruin, and all is right. How dare the south resist the will of such a renowned and mighty power. Here is developed the *British predilection*, here we behold "the *cloven foot*," and here too is the true origin of all Dr. Channing's efforts.

But let us look next at the object. That this is a direct attack upon the south and an effort to curtail and prevent her influence in the councils of this nation is so apparent, "that he who runs may read." We do not mean by this, that Dr. C. only attacks the institutions of the south, and seeks to vilify and insult it by a repetition of his *stale dogmas* concerning slavery, but he comes out openly and boldly with that which has long been the object of certain persons, and avows that his design is not only to prevent an augmentation of the value of slaves, but that the north should resist the annexation of Texas, because it would be *strengthening* the South. When we

come to consider concisely the history of Texas and that act by which, it, a part of the territory of the United States was severed from us, we shall be able to show how this disposition to curtail the influence of the South has developed itself. Our present business is to notice that this is the object—the avowed object of Doctor C. and to do this the more effectually we give the reader his own words. “The objection to the annexation of Texas,” says the Doctor, “drawn from the unwieldiness it would give the country, though very serious, is not decisive. A far more serious objection is, that it is to be annexed to us for the avowed purpose of multiplying slave-holding states, and thus giving political power. This cannot, ought not to be borne. It will justify, it will at length demand the separation of the states. The South has exerted and cannot help exerting a disproportionate share of influence on the confederacy. The slave-holding states have already advantages for confederation which others do not possess. The free states have no great common interest like slavery to hold them together.” “What a contrast does the south form with the slumbering north. The south has generally ruled the country. It must always have an undue power! We cannot consent that the south should extend its already disproportionate power by an indefinite extension of territory, because we maintain that its dispositions toward us give no pledge that its power will be used. It is unhappily in its feelings towards the north, divided from us by an *institution* which gives it a peculiar character, which lays it open to reproach, and which will never suffer it to *rival our prosperity*. *It cannot look on us with favour*. It magnifies our faults. It is blind to our virtues.” Here is the open, avowed, ungenerous, unnatural and unfriendly, if not slanderous attack of Doctor Channing on the south, in setting forth plainly this object of his tract. The opposition of England and other countries to this annexation, the extension of slavery, the unwieldiness of territory, all—all—are weighty considerations, but the influence of the South, the political power of the South—this—this is the point at which he throws his *fiery darts*. Here is the object of attack. Put down the South, bind her hand

and foot by an extravagant protective tariff. Render her lands valueless by turning loose thousands of her laborers, make a clean, a clear sweep at one fell stroke—strike—strike now, and *cripple her at once and forever*. Insult her statesmen in the halls of legislature, by a consumption of public time, in presenting petitions signed by thousands of *fanatics, women, children and negroes*, to put her down—down—to lick the dust at the feet of those of the north who are determined, if possible, to be her *lordly masters*, and who had rather form an alliance with England, the rival and secret, inbred, mortal foe of our country, than see the south stand erect, as a component part of this great nation. Sell her territory—yes, sell her territory, sooner than part with a few thousand acres of land in Maine. All this nation must be involved in a war with Great Britain for this, but thousands of millions of acres at the south are nothing—sell them—all—all—will help to break down and overwhelm and ruin the south. And although Doctor C. has acknowledged the value, importance, and the necessity of the Louisiana purchase, yet does he resist the restoration of a part of that territory to the United States in the following words: “It is well known that the additions to our territory of Louisiana and Florida were acceded to by the north, though very reluctantly, on account of their obvious utility. Very little was said about it, and there was a general and tacit acquiescence in consequence of the great, and incalculable advantages expected from the acquisition in a national point of view.”

Having thus pointed out the object of Dr. C. in this book, and exposed it from his own language, as an effort to prevent that balance and equality of power which the slaveholding states ought of right to possess, in order to their own safety, and especially now, when abolitionism is ready to stretch forth the blazing torch, and spring a mine that may overpower and disarm them, we proceed to show that Texas was a component part of the territory of the United States, having been purchased from the French under the Louisiana treaty; that it was improperly, *we think*, sold to the manifest injury of all the the south, and that this act was only another part of the plan to diminish the strength of the south. In 1667,

when the attention of all France was directed toward Canada, ROBERT CAVALIER DE LA SALLE embarked for fame and fortune to New France, and at the death of Marquette, he dwelt at the outlet of Lake Ontario. After exploring the lakes Ontario and Erie, he returned to France, obtained the rank of nobility, and had granted to him a large domain in America, and the exclusive privilege of trading with the five nations. From 1675 to 1677, he erected houses and cultivated fields in what was then a vast wilderness. Having heard of the wanderings of DE SOTO, and the Iroquois Indians having pointed out the course of the Ohio, he formed the plan of opening a trade between Europe and the Mississippi, with whose waters, the Ohio, he knew evidently mingled its vast streams. Repairing again to France, he made arrangements to carry out his plan. On his return he ascended the lakes, in the first vessel, built under his own direction, that ever ploughed their waters; and after encountering great dangers and immense toil, he penetrated to the Illinois country. There he learned the course of the Mississippi. He despatched his faithful comrade, Louis Hennepen, to examine the Upper Mississippi, whilst he went to the French settlements, and then returned with the stores necessary for rigging a brigantine, and in the early part of 1682, he and his men descended the great Mississippi river to the sea. He took formal possession of that vast country for FRANCE, and gave to it the name of LOUISIANA, in honour of Louis XIV. In 1683, he returned to Quebec, thence to France; and in July, 1684, a fleet of four vessels left Rochelle, in France, for Louisiana, and sometime early in 1685, they landed, after enduring many hardships, much disappointment and delay, at a place on Matagorda bay, but not without losing their store-ship. Ascending the river, he selected a site for, and erected a fort, the bay of Matagorda being on the south and east. There they built their houses, and there, *in what is now called Texas, was the first settlement of the Louisiana country made.* France took formal possession of this country, and its arms were carved on the native lofty trees of that lovely land. "And by

no treaty or public document, except the general cession of Louisiana, did she ever relinquish the right to that province as colonized under her banners, and made still more surely a part of her territory, because the colony found there its grave."

LA SALLE, in attempting, after various reverses, to seek for and obtain help of his countrymen, was killed on his way. His nephew being murdered by two of his men, he went to seek after him, and ascertain the cause of his delay. Overtaking the murderers, he was shot down by one of them, and his remains, after being despoiled, were left on the prairie, naked and without burial, to be devoured by wild beasts. Thus he fell, and there in the great Mississippi valley, he who was its discoverer, slept the sleep of death, destined to be remembered through all time, as the father of colonization in that vast region. From the history of his course, we have given this contracted outline, and of the first settlement in Louisiana, in order to establish the fact, that Texas formed a part of the territory of Louisiana. To the United States it belonged under the Louisiana treaty, and if were not included therein, *it belongs at this day to France.*

Our remarks are not intended by any means, "to impair existing treaties," but to show that all the country discovered by La Salle, on the Mississippi, was disposed of by France to the United States. This disposition was made in 1803, by treaty, for \$ 60,000,000 with all the sovereignty, &c. thereof. We are happy in being able not only to confirm what we here say, on this subject, by a reference to the very best historians, but by reference also to the correspondence of the Hon. J. Q. ADAMS and the Spanish minister, Don Luis de Onis, who negotiated the Florida treaty with him, in 1819. We have also read with deep interest, a work written by Capt. WILLIAM A. WEAVER, in answer to an abusive pamphlet put out some years since, by M. E. Garostiza, the Mexican minister. Captain Weaver's answer is a noble defence of his country's claims, and the character of its government. But few know the man that thus nobly

defended them, against the unwarrantable, and insulting attacks of an unpolished foreigner. Accidentally this book came to our notice. Its author was once our schoolmate, we were born and raised in the same village, and partly educated in the same school. We cannot tell the gratification that we have felt in referring to and drawing upon the valuable resources of an old schoolmate, and with great pleasure we recommend it to the perusal of all who wish to understand the *Texan question*. Our limits prevent many quotations from his valuable collection of documents; but we feel it a duty to point to those sources, from which the intelligent reader may derive positive information on this subject.

We must also refer here to a fact already alluded to. It is that by one article of the Louisiana treaty, all the inhabitants of that tract of country sold to the United States by France, were to be citizens of the said states, and were in due time to be received with their own consent into the union. Texas according to the evidence adduced by Mr. Adams in his correspondence with De Onis, the Spanish minister, did belong, under that treaty, to the United States. De Onis not only admitted this, but on his return home, wrote a book to justify his sale of Florida, and regain the favour of his government and fellow-citizens, who supposed him partial to the United States. To disprove this, his pamphlet was full of vituperation against this country; yet was evidently intended to procure the ratification of the Florida treaty, then suspended by the Spanish government, and whilst he accomplished this he also received a mission to Naples as a reward and evidence of favour.

“From a geographical description of the United States, with the contiguous British and Spanish possessions, intended as an accompaniment to Mellish’s map of these countries, we have the following: ‘In the year 1684, La Salle sailed from France with a small squadron, for the purpose of establishing a colony on the Mississippi; but missing the mouth of that river, he reached the Bay of St. Louis, called by the Spaniards, and marked on the map, the Bay of St. Joseph. Here three of his vessels were cast away. The greatest part of the men and goods

were saved ; but he himself was taken ill. Upon his recovery, he took regular possession of the country, formed a settlement, and built a fort, which is now known by the name of Fort Matagorda. At this time there were no other settlements in that part of the country, so that the right of France became unquestionable ; and all the subsequent settlements of Spain to the east of the Rio del Norte, were regarded as usurpations. 'In the year 1721,' continues Mellish, 'a very elaborate geographical work was published in London, entitled 'a new General Atlas, containing a geographical and historical account of all the empires, kingdoms, and other dominions of the world ; with the maps laid down according to the observations communicated to the English Royal Society, and the French Royal Academy of sciences ;' in this atlas there is a map entitled 'A map of Louisiana, and the River Mississippi,' inscribed to William Law, of Lawreston, Esq. This map furnishes evidence, as to the western limits of Louisiana, of the highest authority, and fixes the boundary line on the west side of the Rio del Norte, to the Rio Salado, answering to the Rio Puerco, on the modern maps. It is continued along that river to near its source.' Upon these data the western boundary of Louisiana is constructed (in Mellish's map.) It takes the Rio del Norte to the River Puerco, then along that river to the chain of mountains which forms the dividing ridge between it and the Rio Colorado ; then along that ridge to beyond Santa Fé, where it bends towards the Rio del Norte, near the latitude of 38 degrees north ; then along the Rio del Norte, to its source, where a note is inserted, expressing that the limits of Louisiana on that quarter are undefined.' Again, in the description of the Rio del Norte, Mellish says, 'at the River Puerco, the Rio del Norte again becomes the south-western boundary of Louisiana.' We have quoted somewhat liberally from the book of Mellish, which accompanied his map, because we find there a triumphant refutation of the bold assertion made by Darley, in his communication, that in 1812 none disputed, or in his own words, 'it would have been regarded as absolute insanity to dispute the Sabine as the boundary between the United States and the inter-

nal provinces.' Did not Mr. Monroe dispute it? Did not Mr. Adams demonstrate the Rio Bravo del Norte as the boundary? Did not Don Onis, in 1820, admit the claim of the United States to that boundary to have been valid? Is Mellish an authority who proves nothing?

"An impartial public will judge," says Mr. Onis, "whether the treaty of the 22nd February, 1819, (which is improperly called a treaty of cession, as it is in reality one of exchange or permutation of one small province for another of double the extent, richer and more fertile,) deserves the epithet of disgraceful, under which it has been painted to his majesty, and whether I have not in it attended to the honour and interest of the nation. I will agree however, that for greater perspicuity, I might have extended the third article in the following terms: In exchange, the United States ceded to his majesty the province of Texas," &c. as the government wish me to express it; but as I had in the correspondence which is inserted, for three years, contended that that province belonged to the king, it would have been a contradiction to say in the treaty, that the United States ceded it to his majesty, the same thing being obtained by the terms in which it is expressed, the limits that adjudge it to his majesty being fixed."

"We also refer the reader to the able and lucid reply of the honourable John Q. Adams, wherein was set forth so fully the just claim and sound title of the United States to the Rio Bravo del Norte; that the Spanish minister himself acknowledges the truth of the positions of Mr. Adams, and frankly admits that he had for three years contended for what he knew to be the property of the United States. During a part of the discussion, Mr. Monroe conducted the negotiation on the part of the United States. Having quoted the frank and unbiassed opinion of Mr. Onis, as expressed in Spain in 1820; we give also the following extract from a letter from Mr. Monroe to Mr. Onis, in 1816. 'With respect to the western boundary of Louisiana, I have to remark, that the government has never doubted, since the treaty of 1803, that it extended to the Rio Bravo; satisfied I am, if the claims of the two nations were submitted to an im-

partial tribunal, who observing the principles applicable to the case, and tracing facts as to discovery and settlement on either side, that such would be its decision. The discovery of the Mississippi as low down as the Arkansas, in 1673, and to its mouth in 1680, and the establishment of settlements on that river, and on the Bay of St. Bernard, on the western side of the Colorado, in 1685, under the authority of France, when the nearest settlement of Spain was in the province of Panuco, are facts which place the claim of the United States on ground not to be shaken. It is known that nothing occurred afterwards on the part of France to weaken this claim. The difference which afterwards took place between France and Spain, respecting Spanish encroachments there, and the war which ensued, to which they contributed, tend to confirm it.

“Thus we behold, by the concurrent testimony of both parties to the negotiation of the treaty of 1819, what were the opinions of the adverse negotiations. On the 6th of February, 1819, Mr. Adams presented to Don Luis De Onis the project of an article, describing the western boundary. ‘Article: It is agreed that the western boundary between the United States and the territories of Spain shall be as follows: Beginning at the mouth of the river Sabine, on the Gulf of Mexico, following the course of said river to the thirty-second degree of latitude, the eastern bank, and all the islands in the river to belong to the United States, and the western bank to Spain, thence due north,’ &c. Three days afterwards, on the 9th of February, 1819, Don Luis De Onis transmitted to the secretary of state of the United States, a project of a treaty, with an English translation, from the fourth article of which we make the following extract: ‘The boundary line between the two countries, shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the middle of that river to the thirty-second degree of latitude, thence by a line due north,’ &c. In the counter project of Mr. Adams, on the 13th of February, it is proposed the third article shall read thus: ‘The boundary line between the two countries west of the Mississippi, shall begin on the

Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea; continuing north, along the western bank of that river to the thirty-second degree of latitude, thence by a line due north,' &c. By the above quotations from the several projects of those ministers, it appears that the two pregnant words 'continuing north,' were interpolated by M. Onis, and adopted by Mr. Adams, as they now stand in the treaty. Are they without meaning? Or rather is not a north course, from a determined point, a more definite term, and more precise than that of depending upon mere nomenclature in a country, then almost a 'terra incognita,' and whose geography is but indifferently settled at the present day." From all this it must plainly appear to the intelligent reader, that Texas, to its utmost southern and western boundary, *was* the property of the United States. That this vast and valuable tract of country, a portion of the south, gained under the Louisiana treaty, was sold by Mr. Adams to the Spanish government, and that De Onis boasted that he had sold Florida for its value, (virtually cash,) five millions of dollars, and had also gained Texas, a territory equal in extent to at least ten small states, of the size of Kentucky. The south had no claims on the Hon. Mr. Adams, but it had on Mr. Monroe, and it will not *soon forget* that *he winked at and encouraged* the disposition of a portion of its territory; but we forbear. The deed is done, a part of the Louisiana purchase was disposed of to gain Florida, a peninsula already conquered by Gen. Jackson. Texas is free. Free from Spain, free from Mexico, free from the United States. A sovereign, independent nation, acknowledged such, and the arbiter under heaven of her own course and her own destiny. But let us stop and ask here, is it possible, that when she was willing to return and take her proper position as one of the confederated sovereign states of this union, to bring back for *nothing* to the United States all that was thus *wantonly sold*, and more too,—we ask is it, can it be possible that any just reason shall be assigned why it may not be done? Dr. C. assigns reasons which in our estimation cannot have, at least ought not to have, any weight. The first is that to receive Texas, "would be to perpetu-

ate slavery." And does not the doctor know that Texas is a slave-holding country already? Does he not know that whether received into this union or not, it will continue such for a time at least. Does he not know, that slaves under its constitution, a constitution pronounced by the Hon. Henry Clay the best in the world, can never be free there. Texas says when coloured men are emancipated here, let them remove to Africa. That is their home, and that their proper place. But why does Dr. C. press this question now? Has not Texas withdrawn all application for admission into this union? This question is not before the people of the United States now. So far from this she has taken her stand among the nations of the earth, and must and will go on from prospering to prosper. With this question, "the annexation of Texas," we have nothing to do. We repeat, we leave it with politicians and our countrymen. The south itself is not agreed, it is possible, on this subject. We know not their opinions, we have never sought to know them. But we have something yet to do with Dr. C. about *lugging* this question before the American people, that under the cover of the "Annexation of Texas," and the name of that *great man*, Mr. Clay, whose opinions he knew to be directly averse to abolitionism, he might attack the south, insult her feelings, and run over the old story already told twice, and *stereotyped* by abolitionists, of slaves starved, oppressed, insulted, and reduced to a condition worse than that of brutes, by southerners, who are men "stealers," "kidnappers," "pirates," "murderers, and worse than murderers."

We are happy to have it in our power to give the reader two letters, which we consider an admirable reply to Dr. Channing's last tract about Texas. The one was written by Mr. Biddle, late president of the United States' Bank, and the other by Professor Hare, of the University of Pennsylvania. They are to be found in that excellent work, a History of Texas, and Texans, by Gen. Foote, of Mississippi. This history we recommend to our readers, as a most interesting account of that delightful country, and its brave, enterprising and chivalrous inhabitants. And especially do we recommend the letters

above alluded to. Indeed they form a succinct and unanswerable answer to Dr. Channing's book on the annexation of Texas. If Gen. Foote had seen (which he had not) Dr. C's. tract on this subject, when he published those letters, he could not have placed before the American public, a much better antidote against the poisonous matter that has been disseminated to the injury of the brave Texans, in both Europe and the United States. The extract from Mr. Biddle's letter referred to, is as follows:

“The question of Texas is strangely misunderstood in the United States, because it is treated as a mere party question, to be decided of course by political passions and party interests. If I am somewhat less influenced by these feelings, it is probably owing to the circumstance, that, for thirty-five years, I have been familiar with the subject. You know that I began my public life as the secretary of the American minister at Paris, in 1804, when all the details of the purchase of Louisiana, of which *TEXAS then formed a part*, passed through my hands; and when, afterwards, the government sent a party to explore the new purchase, I prepared for the press, the history of that expedition, known as the Travels of Lewis and Clark. These circumstances have made me better acquainted with Texas than most of our countrymen, and they may perhaps inspire some confidence in the opinions I am about to express, with regard to the history and present state of that country; and

“*First of its history*—To the common apprehension, Texas is some wild waste region, wholly unknown to the United States, which certain American adventurers have wrested from its true original owner, Mexico. Nothing can be more erroneous than all this. The facts are, that when Louisiana was purchased from France, this very Texas was claimed as an integral part of it—claimed as belonging to the United States, as much as New Orleans did—that for a series of years the claim was constantly and vigorously maintained—that, although, in 1819, the United States, in their anxiety to obtain Florida, yielded to the government of Old Spain their claim on a part of Texas, yet immediate endeavours were made to recover

it, and that for more than thirty years, every administration, of every party, and almost every prominent leader of all parties, have anxiously sought to bring Texas into the union. Of these facts in their order.

“1st. On the 28th of January, 1805, Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Monroe, the plenipotentiaries of the United States, acting under the instructions of Mr. Madison, the secretary of state of Mr. Jefferson, addressed a letter to Mr. Cevallos, the Spanish secretary of state, in which they say:—‘We have the honour to present to your excellency a paper on this subject, which we presume proves in the most satisfactory manner, that the boundaries of that province, (Louisiana,) as established by the treaties referred to, are, the river Perdido to the east, and the Rio Bravo to the west. The facts and principles which justify this conclusion, are so satisfactory to our government, as to convince it, that the United States have not a better right to the island of New Orleans, under the cession referred to, than they have to the whole district of territory which is above described.’ This territory, bounded on the west by the Rio Bravo, called indiscriminately Rio Bravo, Rio Bravo del Norte, and Rio del Norte—*to which the United States assert as good a right as they have to New Orleans, is this identical Texas.*

“2. The progress of years weakened nothing of the force of this claim. On the 12th of March, 1818, Mr. Adams, the American secretary of state, in a letter to Mr. Onis, the Spanish minister, repels the very suggestion of any doubt that Texas belonged to the United States. ‘You know, sir,’ says he, ‘and your own notes furnish themselves the most decisive proofs, that France, while she held the colony of Louisiana, never did consider the Mississippi as the western boundary of that province.’ ‘She always claimed the territory which you call Texas, as being within the limits and forming part of Louisiana.’ Notwithstanding these solemn declarations, it was thought so desirable, in the general dilapidation of the Spanish monarchy, to prevent the transfer of Florida to a foreign power, that on the 22d of February, 1819, a treaty was made with Old Spain, and not with Mexico, by which, in consideration of the cession of Flo-

rida to the United States, they agreed to *pay five millions of dollars*, and to recognize the boundary of the Sabine, which both parties knew was not the real boundary, but only a conventional line for the occasion. This compromise, although acquiesced in from the strong desire to possess Florida, satisfied neither political party in the United States. *Mr. Clay vehemently denounced it*, and he introduced into the house of representatives a declaratory resolution—‘That the equivalent proposed to be given by Spain to the United States, for that part of Louisiana lying west of the Sabine, was inadequate, and that it would be inexpedient to make a transfer thereof to any foreign power.’

“3d. The error of that treaty indeed soon became manifest, as the upper regions of the Mississippi became settled—when Texas was seen stretching its broad extent between the Gulf of Mexico—and Arkansas and Missouri—and all the future states to the Rocky mountains, and barring against the United States the best outlet to the Pacific. Accordingly, Mr. ADAMS, the same statesman who had signed the treaty, had not been elevated to the presidency more than a few days, when almost his first act was to try to recover and bring into the union this very same country of Texas. On the 26th of March, 1825, his secretary of state, Mr. Clay, instructed Mr. Poinsett, the American minister in Mexico, ‘that the boundary of the Sabine was too near the United States—that a change was desirable, and therefore, the president wishes you to sound it (the Mexican government,) on that subject, and to avail yourself of a favourable disposition, if you should find it, to effect that object.’ This overture being unsuccessful, a new and more vigorous effort was made on the 15th of March 1827, when Mr. Clay instructed Mr. Poinsett to propose the purchase of the whole country to the Rio del Norte, being the present Texas. ‘The boundary’ says he, ‘which we prefer is that which beginning at the mouth of the Rio del Norte in the sea, shall ascend that river, thence to the forty second degree of latitude, and by that degree to the Pacific.’ To obtain this, ‘the president authorizes you to offer to the government of Mexico, a sum not exceeding one mil-

lion of dollars ;' and farther, 'that the treaty may contain a provision similar to that in the Louisiana and Florida treaties, for the incorporation of the inhabitants into the union, as soon as it can be done consistently with the principles of the federal constitution.'

"4th. The same efforts made by Mr. Adams, were pursued by his successor, Mr. JACKSON, who in the first month of his presidency, took measures to purchase Texas and bring it into the union. Mr. Van Buren, his secretary of state, wrote to Mr. Poinsett, on the 25th of August, 1829. 'It is the wish of the president that you should without delay open a negotiation with the Mexican Government for so much of the province of Texas as is hereinafter described, or for such part as they may be induced to cede to us.' 'The territory' he adds, 'of which a cession is desired by the United States, is all that part of the province of Texas, east of a line from the centre of the great Prairie, between the Nueces, and the Rio del Norte, north to the forty second degree of latitude, where that line would strike our present boundary.' For this country, which you perceive is much less than that asked for by Mr. Adams, which went at once to the Rio del Norte, he was authorized to give a sum not exceeding four millions of dollars ; 'but so strong are the president's convictions of its great value to the United States, that he will not object if you should find it indispensably necessary, to go as high as five millions.' Mr. Van Buren adds, 'The treaty may also contain a provision similar to that in the Louisiana and Florida treaties for the incorporation of the inhabitants into the union, as soon as it can be done consistently with the principles of the federal constitution.' This negotiation being abortive, it was revived on the 4th of August, 1835, when Mr. Forsyth, the secretary of state, instructed Mr. Butler, the representative of the United States in Mexico, to negotiate for a boundary 'from the eastern bank of the Rio del Norte to the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, thence along that parallel to the Pacific,'—and a further sum, which in the public despatches is of course left in blank, was placed at his disposal in addition to the five millions previously au-

thorized. You will thus perceive, that under all our political parties, a constant effort has been made, first, *to retain Texas as belonging to the union, and when that failed, to purchase it and bring it into the union.*

“Now as to its present state and prospects: During these negotiations for the purchase of Texas, the inhabitants of the country themselves, over whom the government of Mexico had, in the progress of the revolution, been substituted for their mother country, Spain, deeming themselves oppressed by this Mexican dominion, revolted against it—declared their independence, and finally expelled the Mexican armies from their country. Now in that civil war, as in all other civil wars, it is superfluous for foreign nations to inquire which side was right, or which wrong, and whether the alleged causes of throwing off the Mexican yoke were sufficient. All struggles for a change of government are mere rebellions until success makes them revolutions, and the causes of both must forever remain in the debateable land of history. It is too late to discuss the merits of the revolt of the Spaniards against the Moors—the revolt of the Dutch against the Spaniards—the revolt of the English against the Stuarts—the revolt of the French against the Bourbons—of the Americans against the English—of the Mexicans against the Spaniards—or now of the Texans against the Mexicans. The question after all is a mere question of fact. Who administers the government—Who directs the physical power of the country? Now in the case of Texas we have all the elements of an independent government. An executive, legislative, and judiciary organization *after the best models*—a military power—a naval power. There has not been for three years a hostile Mexican on her soil. She is acknowledged by her nearest and strongest neighbour—her flag is commercially acknowledged by France and by England, though for obvious reasons an avowed political recognition of a recent colony is delayed—and I have no doubt that Mexico herself will soon do as Spain did with respect to Mexico, yield to circumstances, and recognize the independence of Texas, whom she has not *the remotest chance of conquering*, and whose hostility she may well dread.

“One of the earliest acts of the Texan government was a proposal to join the United States. This it did, not merely from a natural attachment to the older states from which the Texans had emigrated, but because they were aware how constantly that annexation had been sought by the states themselves. *Fortunately for Texas—very unwisely, in judgment, for the United States, the proposal was declined.* It was declined in one of those wild paroxysms of public excitement to which all free people are exposed. Men’s minds were heated with the fierce discussions about *the abolition of slavery*, and they would see in Texas nothing but a new field for slavery—and a dangerous *increase of power* to the slave-holding states. It was in vain to say that Texas could not possibly add a single slave to the union—that by her own constitution she had prohibited the foreign slave trade, and that her admission into the union, by bringing her under our own laws forbidding the slave trade, was the most effectual mode of suppressing that trade—and that, therefore, her only influence on the slave question would be, to weaken the evil of slavery by diffusing it, and to furnish an out-let for the black population of the Atlantic states, so as to relieve them gradually from their slaves. Then with regard to political power. Both Mr. Adams’ party and Mr. Jackson’s party had endeavoured to bring Texas into the union—had agreed to stipulate with a foreign power, and thus pledge irrevocably the public faith, that Texas should be introduced into the union as Louisiana was, without any restriction as to the number of states into which she should be divided, or the number of slaves she might contain; and she asks admission merely as a single state, with no power of division except what may be allowed by a majority of the other states. It was in vain to say all this, because it was only reason—and the question was to be decided by party passions. The result was, that after offering five millions for a part of Texas, the whole came to us for nothing, and we refused it—that after endeavouring to bring it into the union in such a way as to make six or eight slave-holding states, we declined to receive it even as a single indivi-

dual state. These caprices of our legislation I mention, to show that the rejection of the offer had no relation whatever to the character or condition of Texas, but was occasioned by causes entirely of domestic policy. The effect, however, of the refusal upon Texas herself, is to make her at once a great empire—leaving her resources under her own control, and placing her in a position much better than that of the states of the union. For the difference between them is this: The old states who had originally their own lands have sold them all. The new states being formed out of the territory belonging to the federal government, never had any lands—and as both the old and the new states have surrendered their whole power over commerce to the federal government, they derive no revenue whatever from the exports or imports within their limits. On the other hand the government of Texas is the absolute owner of the whole public domain within its borders—and the exclusive receiver of all duties on exports or imports which it may choose to levy. She is, in fact, a state like one of ours, though not actually in the union—but with all the social and political guarantees which a state can offer. She is not a state in this only, that she has a national domain and a revenue power which no state in the union possesses. Look at both these resources—and first of the lands. She has a public domain estimated at from 100,000,000 to 150,000,000 of acres. These, I understand, are for the most part cotton-lands, richer than the cotton-lands of any of our cotton-growing states, destined to be covered with the cotton plant and sugar cane, and offering the attraction rarely combined of an exuberant soil, &c. a healthy climate, with a great variety of products to tempt the adventurous industry of our people. My impression, too, is that as there lies on the east of the Rocky Mountains an immense region where the cultivation of the soil is very difficult and unproductive, the stream of population, instead of going directly across those mountains, will turn to the south of them—and that the great route to the Pacific, the only resting place of our people, will be along the Gulf of Mexico, through the lower south-western states and Texas. The effect will be to give a con-

stant increase to the value of the lands in Texas—so that these 100,000,000 or 150,000,000 of acres of land must be considered as synonymous with at least as many dollars. The public lands in Mississippi, often less valuable than those of Texas, sold at public auction, three years ago, for \$5, or \$10, or even more an acre, while the government minimum price was \$1 25.

“Then, as to the duties. The crowded population of a country disinclined to manufacture, will require large importations of foreign goods. Their abundant exports will furnish the means of paying for them,—and the duties on commerce, though fixed at a very low rate, as from policy they would naturally be, cannot fail to yield an abundant revenue. Here then is a country, for a part only of which the United States offered \$5,000,000 ten years ago,—a country without any debt—with an economical government—with a public domain of at least 100,000,000 of acres, and an unlimited revenue from customs. Nor is their disposition to pay less than their ability. You have heard in Europe as we have heard in America, a thousand wild stories about Texas. But all the new states have had in their turn to run this gauntlet of prejudice—the youngest state, like the youngest pupil at college, being obliged to bear the jokes and taunts of his seniors. But those who administer the affairs of the new commonwealth, are highly respectable gentlemen, who have been in the public employ of their native states, and have carried with them those deep-rooted opinions of the sanctity of contracts and the value of public faith which characterize all the states of the union.”

The letter of Dr. Hare to Dr. Channing, also alluded to in the above remarks, we now give. It reads thus:

“**To THE REV. DR. CHANNING:**

“*My dear sir*—About the beginning of this month I received your kind letter, and your well written pamphlet, respecting the annexation of Texas to the United States. I should be willing, agreeably to *your suggestion*, to join with my townsmen in a meeting for the purpose of *deprecating* such a connection with that country. But, on the other hand, I am not insensible to the disadvantage of having an independent sovereignty so near to us, and should not be surprised, allowing for the usual diversity of human opinion, if some of my fellow-citizens should consider the evils of

annexation the lesser of the two. I conceive, however, that against the annexation of Texas it may very justly be urged, by the states in which slavery is not permitted, that although they are cheerfully willing to abide by their agreement with their old confederates, that three-fifths of the slave population shall be represented, they are not willing to admit more confederates upon these conditions. Instead of seeking to benefit Texas, by admitting that republic into the union, I should wish to see the United States step forward as a mediator between that country and Mexico, and thus to avert the evils of a continued war.

“By a few millions, probably, especially should the payment be guaranteed by the United States, the Texans could purchase a recognition of their sovereignty. The funds could be obtained in England, to be paid in that country by Texan produce, and in Mexico in British manufactures; no disadvantage which the United States could suffer as security for the debt, would be equal to those arising from a continuance of war in their vicinity. If such an arrangement could be entered into by a compromise, as a consideration for the abandonment of the scheme of annexation, no doubt it would have many warm advocates.

“I do not concur with you in thinking the resistance of the Texans to Santa Anna as unjustifiable. They had settled in Texas with the understanding that they were to be *under a federal government*. It follows, in my opinion, that when Santa Anna usurped the control of the whole country, and endeavoured to establish a consolidated government, the Texans were no longer held by their engagements—the breach of covenant was on the side of the government of Mexico, not on theirs. Having deposed Iturbide under the banner of liberty, Santa Anna endeavoured afterwards to establish a despotic authority for himself. Of course he was an hypocrite as well as an usurper. It appears to me the Texans had been unwise to have submitted to him. They might, like the Greek subjects of the Ottoman empire, ere long have had to pay a tax for wearing their heads.

“Neither *individuals* or *communities* can be fairly judged by an *abstract standard of right*. It can hardly be urged against a community that they are not more correct than any other community. No one can, more than I, abhor the principle so often painfully acted on, that might gives right. But the right of conquest being almost universally the basis of existing national sovereignty, if the occupation of the wilds of Texas add another instance of the catalogue, it appears on various accounts one of the least blamable on record. Invading a thickly settled country, already cultivated and enriched by the labours of resident proprietors, is evidently a far greater wrong, and requires, on the part of the invader, a far harder heart than taking possession of a country in an unsettled and uncultivated state.

“Besides, if wrong has been done in the occupation of Texas, it has been done to the aborigines, not to the Spanish Americans; who never had to it even the right of occupation. So far as Texas

was the abode of the last mentioned race, it does not appear that they were desirous of submitting to Santa Anna. But admitting that these Texans are invaders, not justifiable seceders, let those who are not now enjoying the fruit of similar wrongs cast on them reproach. Is there any nation in christendom of which the territory is not due to the right of conquest? Can the people of the United States, or the descendants of Pizarro or Cortes, complain with justice of the Texans? Let the clemency shown to the butchering army of Santa Anna and its bloodthirsty leader be contrasted with the sanguinary career of the conquerors of Peru and Mexico. In the former instance we see clemency towards a most cruel enemy; in the latter, kindness and hospitaiity were repaid with slaughter, persecution, and ignominious slavery.

"To an anarchical government there can be no moral tie. Allegiance and protection being inseparable, the cessation of the one terminates the other. The dependence of one province upon others always has been, and must be, a mere question of expediency. The first question will be, is separation desirable? The next, is it practicable? or will the cost, in blood and treasure, be too great to make it expedient to attempt a secession.

"It is not improbable that a desire to employ slave labour, without which they could not expect the emigration of men of property from the neighboring states, may have been one of the motives for their efforts to obtain independence; but if there were otherwise a sufficient incentive to the change, would it be charitable to put the worst construction on their conduct of which the case admits? I fully concur with you that slavery ought not to be countenanced by the individual, unless under the belief that the general welfare of the community in which it exists, taking both the slave and the master into view, require its continuance. But, while coinciding in this opinion, I have never been able to imagine any practicable plan for emancipation in our southern states. If any such plan has been devised, I have never heard of it. The beneficial result of that resorted to by Great Britain *is still contested*. *Were all the whites in the slave states removed, the blacks remaining their own masters, I believe that within a few years they would be found less happy than at present.* Such has been the consequence of the extirpation of the whites in Hayti. I believe that the whites could *exist better without them*, than they could *without the whites*. But if, agreeably to the opinion of the philanthropists, whose pecuniary interests and personal safety are not to be hazarded by the innovation, a feasible plan of abolition could be devised, how could it be executed? Evidently it must be accomplished in one of two ways—either with the consent and co-operation of the communities within whose sovereignty it prevails, or by civil war. The latter would be deprecated by every truly *christian* and *virtuous* friend of abolition. To countenance any measures pregnant with the horrors of anarchy and insurrection is evidently inconsistent with religion or philanthropy. It follows that the *heads and hearts* of the slaveholders are the *only tribunal*

to which an appeal can be made, and to this you appeal with eloquence and zeal; and I presume would not make the effort unless you entertained some hope of success. *In the indulgence of this hope I cannot join with you.* I believe that our SOUTHERN PLANTERS are generally *a kind hearted, hospitable, brave, and magnanimous race of men*; still as they are not above human nature, I should be hopeless of an appeal to them on a question respecting which they deny *our right* or ability to judge for them, and which they conceive to hazard by its disturbance, not only the means 'by which they do live,' but *the personal safety of themselves and all those whom they hold dear.* Before I could feel warranted in meddling with the municipal regulations of any country, I must be convinced that my interference will not do mischief instead of good; and that I have both *a moral* and *constitutional right* to move in the affairs in point. But were it, in my opinion, neither *immoral* nor *illegal* to interfere, I should deem it incumbent on me to perform all those duties which are unquestionable, and within my immediate control, in the first place, and then to give attention to such as are less obligatory, and beyond my reach. While it pleases the Deity to allow certain evils, it is vain for man to put forth his puny might.

"Faithfully, your friend,

"ROBERT HARE.

"To the Rev. Dr. Channing."

We cannot forbear giving our readers some of the pithy, though plain, yet appropriate and judicious remarks of Gen. Foote on these letters, in connection with the course of some on this subject. They may seem to many too severe, but let it be remembered that abolitionism is a desperate, a pestilential disease, that must necessarily require a desperate remedy. Gen. Foote says:—"Reader, this is the same Mr. Adams who is now striving, not 'to bring into the union this same country of Texas,' but to keep it out of the union, by vehement agitation, in congress and out of it. This is the same statesman who, in 1827, as Mr. Biddle, without the least hostile intent towards his friend Mr. Adams, incidentally shows, authorized Mr. Clay to instruct Mr. Poinsett to 'propose the purchase of the whole country to the Rio del Norte, being the present Texas.' This is the same statesman under whose direction Mr. Clay then said to Mr. Poinsett: 'The president authorizes you to offer to the government of Mexico, a sum not exceeding one million of dollars,' for this identical Texas. This is the same states-

man at whose instance, too, Mr. Clay said to Mr. Poinsett: 'The treaty may contain a provision similar to that in the Louisiana and Florida treaties, for the incorporation of the inhabitants into the union, as soon as it can be done consistently with the principles of the federal constitution.

"Well may Mr. Biddle say, as he does in his letter: 'Both parties, Mr. Adams' and Mr. Jackson's party, had agreed to stipulate with a foreign power, and thus pledge irrevocably the public faith that Texas should be introduced into the union, as Louisiana was, without any restriction as to the number of states into which she was divided, or the number of slaves she might contain, and now, when she asked admission as a single state, the result was, that after offering four millions for a part of Texas, the whole came to us for nothing, and we refused it;—that after endeavouring to bring it into the union in such a way as to make six or eight slave-holding states, we declined to receive it as a single individual state."

"It would be unbecoming a southern man to urge that the veteran politician of Quincy, (certainly without the least design,) inflicted serious injury upon the abolition cause by refusing to throw the banner of the union over Texas four years ago; since, had Texas been admitted then as a single state, she would have been, according to the views of some, within the constitutional range of that terrible abolition artillery, whose missiles are constantly flying in all directions over the republic: let this matter be settled among those interested. But I may be permitted here to suggest, that it is one of the most surprising facts that has occurred in American history, that a president of the United States (Mr. Adams) should in 1827, have agreed to the admission of the region, called Texas, into the union (in the words of Mr. Biddle) 'as Louisiana was:' and yet the same gentleman should, under the influence of that chimera, which seems to have continually haunted his imagination, as to the growing power of the south and west, for more than twenty years past, have spoke as he did of this same purchase of Louisiana, and of Mr. Jefferson, the purchaser, 'in the year 1839, in his Jubilee Speech, at New York.' I will offer no observa-

tions on the glaring inconsistency there unfolded to view; I shall say not a word in defence of the illustrious dead from the ill-natured assailment of an individual who, while Mr. Jefferson lived, was professedly his devoted friend and enthusiastic admirer; but one fact is certain, that until Mr. Adams shall emerge from the predicament in which he stands of having deliberately sanctioned what he denominated 'a flagrant violation of the constitution,' a 'pernicious and corrupting example of an undissembled, admitted prostration of the constitution,' Texas will have but little to fear from his hostility, however may be his endeavours to injure her, and to persuade the poor old ladies of his vicinage to get up petitions upon which to harangue the house of representatives, and to harass the peace of the republic.

"Twenty years hence, when ex-president Adams, shall have found commune with his reverend ancestors, beyond the visible firmament, the friends of Texas and the Texans will, in all probability be heard to recite the language of his own jubilee oration, applying it to him and his huge budget of petitions, saying: "upon the opening of Pandora's box. Hope was left behind. Hitherto no seed of deadly aconite has generated into pestilential poison;" and I rejoice to know that Mr. Adams' jubilee oration of one hundred and twenty pages, all drawn up for the purpose of showing that the states were never sovereign, and that the federal constitution had derived its validity and binding force alone from the people of the union as a consolidated mass, was, four days ago, completely counteracted by a single sentence which fell from the lips of a true disciple of Thomas Jefferson,—a man beloved and admired, and confided in, by good men and true of all parties, JOHN TYLER of Virginia, who, on taking the oath of office as second officer of this great republic, in his address to the senate, among other truths, said: "here are to be found the immediate representatives of the states, by whose sovereign will the government has been spoken into existence."

Many of the remarks of General Foote respecting Mr. Adams, are equally applicable to Dr. Channing, and it is a remarkable fact, that with the assistance of Mr. Biddle

and Professor Hare, he has absolutely answered the most material parts of Dr. C's. last book, on slavery, so far as Texas is concerned. We say slavery, for after all, slavery is its *basis*, slavery its *subject*, and to promote *abolitionism* its great *object*. This being the case we humbly conceive that in our investigation of it, we have at least with the aids which we have called in, answered most if not all of the material points in this subject, and according to promise, have examined Dr. C's three tracts.

We here solemnly declare to our readers and the public, that we have no political object in view, and have strove to avoid any party or political cast which this subject would, almost necessarily, force us to assume. We go for our country, for this union of states, a union upon that foundation which our brave and patriotic fathers, with WASHINGTON at their head, laid, to secure its permanency and future glory. We have not noticed nor shall we, Dr. Channing's argument founded on the criminality of resistance to the Mexican government by Texas. As Mr. Biddle has suggested what he says respecting this, would be equally applicable to that resistance which in revolutionary times, these United States made to the government of Great Britain. We cannot, however, forbear asking the doctor if it be so iniquitous for Texas to resist the Mexican government, is there no iniquity in abolitionists, with Dr. Channing at their head, resisting the constitution and laws of these United States, by publicly proclaiming to heaven and earth that they are "bound" on the subject of slavery "by no law," and that resistance to abolitionism "will ultimately demand the separation of the states." And that they do not desire to live under the laws and government of a country admitting such a principle, that resistance is meritorious and to be neutral a crime. So far as we are personally concerned we take nothing that Dr. C. has said to ourselves. We have long since learned 'not to wear a cap which does not fit us.' If Dr. C. had offended us personally, we trust there is a charity to cover every fault, and a heart to forgive every wrong. But the attack is one upon our country, on Virginia, the state that gave us

birth, of all others dearest to us. It is one published to the world,—it is one that opens to every man a door for a plain, pointed and frank expression of his opinion, and we believe that it is a direct attack, not only on all the slaveholding states, but on every lover of the union throughout these United States. We have spoken plainly and with frankness. We intended to do so. Some of our expressions may be considered harsh, we know not how to sweeten, *as some do*, a bitter pill. Perhaps we are naturally tart; but we are willing to submit what we have here written to the judgment of the candid and considerate (abolitionists of course excepted,) of every name, of every sect and party, whether in religion or politics, north or south, and let them compare our bitterest expressions with some of the ungenerous, and cutting, and uncharitable remarks of Dr. C. We do not dread the issue when patiently heard, though that hearing be had in the land of the pilgrims. The sons of New England we do believe, will frown into the dust, by nine out of ten, any attempt, though made by the learned Dr. C. and Judge Jay, to dissolve our UNION, and destroy this REPUBLIC.

PART IX.

AN APPEAL TO THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH, WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CLARKSON'S LETTER TO THE CLERGY OF THE SLAVE-HOLDING STATES. A NOTICE OF THE EXCELLENT SPEECH OF THE HON. ROBERT J. WALKER BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND SOME QUOTATIONS FROM IT. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THINK not friends and fellow-citizens of the north and the east, that any remarks which have been made in the foregoing pages, are intended to wound and insult you. We have been trained by a father whose name is now written in the dust, to deal frankly and candidly with all men. In the exercise of our own independence, a right in which you rejoice, we have honestly expressed our views. If in doing this, if by any quotations we have made we wound any, rest assured it has not been because that we delight to do so and none can lament it more than we. But in the defence of that condition in which the south has been placed by circumstances over which she had no control originally, and even now cannot control as it would, we have spoken our opinions plainly and openly. The slaves are here, they are in our midst, they were forced on the south: with a perfect knowledge of these facts, your fathers entered into a solemn covenant with ours, and will you upturn the whole when you cannot better the condition of the slaves, and by so doing may involve them and perhaps us, your fellow-citizens in a destruction that shall be complete? Do you know that the first attempt of this kind, the first blow that shall ever be struck, will be but the signal, that shall bring death and ruin on the colored race, from the Potomac to the

Gulf of Mexico? You must not think that the southern states are disposed to encourage the trade in slaves. They, with but few exceptions, are averse to it. In their collective and legislative as well as their individual capacity they have resisted it to the utmost. They have been as we have shown, before the north in resistance to the slave trade. This is a well attested fact.

Some time last spring there came up a case before the Supreme Court of the United States, commonly called the Mississippi slave case, entitled in the records of the court, "Groves et al. v. Slaughter," "involving the power of congress and the states to prohibit the inter-state slave trade." This case was argued elaborately on both sides, and excited great interest in all, as in it was involved a most interesting constitutional question. ROBERT J. WALKER, Esq. one of the United States' senators for Mississippi, appeared and answered as the attorney for Mr. Groves, one of the defendants. Mr. Walker is not only a distinguished senator, but from what we have heard in Washington of this speech for the defendant, and from the speech itself, we gather that he is also a distinguished jurist. The legal and historical information, the eloquent appeals, and the powerful reasonings of this speech, we must frankly confess, have completely captivated us, and will doubtless interest all. We commend it to your perusal. Born and educated, (as we are informed,) in one of the free states, *now* an adopted son of Mississippi, whom she delights to honour, such arguments and such appeals as are to be found in that speech must necessarily have a most powerful influence both at home and abroad. From it we cannot forego the pleasure of making some quotations, and of placing them, fellow-citizens of the north and east, before you, as a true specimen of southern feeling on this delicate subject.

Before we could procure a copy thereof, we had finished our inquiry and examination. We should have been truly gratified to have had access to it in time to have made many extracts from various parts of it. We must, however, content ourselves with the selection of a few portions thereof, and of placing them before you as a part of our appeal. This we do without the knowledge

of Mr. Walker, and without the opportunity of asking his consent. For this liberty we hope to be pardoned, and also for the naming him, *comparatively* a stranger to us, we hope to find as we believe we shall, an ample apology in his kindness. Convinced that Mr. Walker ardently and anxiously wishes the perpetuity and welfare of this union, we know he cannot, he will not, object to the use of any portion of his speech, to aid in the accomplishment of an end that is so desirable.

After giving a lucid exposition of the constitution and law, and illustrating the true meaning and force of various cases which have come up before the Supreme Court of the United States, and those of individual states, Mr. Walker remarks thus, upon the decisions of the High Court of Errors and Appeals of the state of Mississippi, on the subject of this inter-state slave trade, and upon that of slavery in the south in general.

"I approach now the final question raised by our opponents in their printed brief, as follows: 'But, assuming that the constitution of Mississippi does not contain a clear and incontestable prohibition of the introduction of slaves, as merchandize, within its limits—then there remains, in the last place, to be considered fourthly, a grave and important question, which this court will have to decide; and that is, whether it is competent to any state in the union, by its separate authority, either in its constitution or its laws, to regulate commerce among the several states, by enacting and enforcing such a prohibition? The constitution of the United States vests in congress the power 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.' The power must be regarded as exclusively possessed by congress. The municipal laws of a state may, perhaps, decide what shall be the subjects of property; but when they have so decided, when they have stamped the character of property on any particular movables, they cannot interdict the removal of similar movables as merchandize, from any other state, whose laws also recognize them as property. Such an interdiction would be a regulation of commerce among the

states; and if a state can make it, it may prohibit the introduction of any produce from another state. South Carolina may prohibit the introduction of live stock from Kentucky, and Kentucky may prohibit the introduction within her limits, of the cotton or rice of South Carolina. It is not intended to argue that a state, which does not tolerate slavery, is bound to admit the introduction of slaves, to be held as property, within its limits; and the reason for excluding them is, that, by the laws of the free states, slaves cannot be held in bondage. The case before the court is, that of the transportation of slaves from one slave state to another slave state.' I concur with our opponents, that this is indeed, 'a grave and important question;' the most so, in my judgment, which has ever been brought up for the determination of this court. The power to regulate commerce among the states is 'supreme and exclusive,' it is vested in congress alone, and if under it, congress may forbid or authorize the transportation of slaves from state to state, in defiance of state authority, then indeed, we shall have reached a crisis in the abolition controversy, most alarming and momentous.

"In their petitions to congress by the abolitionists, they assert the power here claimed, and call upon that body to exercise it by legislative enactments, in regard to the sale and transportation of slaves from state to state. These petitions have been repeatedly rejected or laid on the table, as seeking an object beyond the constitutional power of congress, by overwhelming majorities of both houses; but if this court, as the interpreter of the constitution of the union, in the last resort, now inform congress that this power is vested in congress alone, no one can predict the consequences. Let it be observed, also, that whilst all these laws of all the slave-holding states on this subject are asked to be pronounced unconstitutional, the laws on the same subject, of the 'free states,' as they are designated by our opponents, are sought to be placed above the power of congress on this question. A distinction is thus directly made, by our opponents, between the 'free states' and the 'slave states,' as contradistinguished in their brief on this question; and the 'free

states are asked to be regarded as sovereign, and the 'slave states' as subject states, upon all the points involved in this controversy. Thus it follows, that the contract sought to be enforced in this case, could not be enforced if made in Massachusetts, because prohibited by her constitution; but that the same identical contract can be enforced if made in the state of Mississippi, although expressly prohibited by the constitution of that state. Massachusetts, then, possesses sovereign and absolute power over this subject, and Mississippi no power whatever.

"The constitution is then to have the same uniform effect throughout all the states, as regards the supreme and exclusive power of congress to regulate commerce among the states; but this power is to range undisturbed throughout all the 'slave states,' striking down all their laws and constitutions on this subject, whilst the same power is arrested at the limits of each one of the 'free states,' of this union. Such is the degrading attitude in which every slave-holding state is placed by this position. But, let me ask, is not the admission of our opponents, that this power of congress cannot enter the limits of the 'free states,' conclusive? The history of the constitution of the union shows that the want of uniformity, as regards regulations of commerce, was the great motive leading to the formation of that instrument. It was the sole cause assigned in the resolutions of Virginia, (of Mr. Madison) of 1785 and 1786, as a consequence of which was assembled the convention which framed the constitution of the union. To Mr. Madison and to Virginia belong the undisputed honour of assembling that convention; and the sole object avowed in the Virginia resolutions was, by the adoption of the constitution, to procure for all the states 'uniformity in their commercial regulations.' Virginia had endeavoured, prior to the adoption of the constitution, to regulate commerce between her ports and those of other states and nations, but she found that these regulations only drove this commerce to the rival ports of Maryland. She negotiated with Maryland to adopt similar regulations, but Maryland ascertained that she could not adopt them without driving her commerce to Pennsylvania, nor Pennsylvania without New

York, nor New York without New England. Absolute and perfect uniformity was required to give due effect to regulations of commerce among all the states; and hence the call of the convention which formed the constitution of the union, at the instance of Virginia, to establish this uniformity. If, then, this power to regulate commerce among all the states upon the principle of perfect uniformity, cannot, as regards the transportation and sale of slaves, have the same uniform effect in all the states, but can be exerted in and between some states only, and not in others, it is a conclusive argument, that as regards this local and peculiar question of slaves, and their sale and transportation from state to state, was never designed to be embraced under the authority of congress to regulate commerce among the states. The power to regulate commerce among the states, is a power to regulate commerce among all the states; and by regulations of perfect uniformity, applying to all, and exempting none. But Massachusetts, it is conceded, may, as regards the transportation into, and sale of slaves in that state, exempt herself from the operation of the power of congress to regulate commerce, and from all laws of congress on that subject. Yet this power is not only to operate with perfect uniformity, but is declared by our opponents to be 'supreme and exclusive.' And may this power be thus struck down as regards a single state, by the operation of state laws and state authority? Does any one state possess the authority to exempt herself from a power vested in congress alone, and prohibited to the states? Is this the tenure, at the will of a state, by which congress holds its powers, and especially those which are 'supreme and exclusive?' It is said, Massachusetts may exempt herself from the operation of this power, by declaring slaves not to be property within her limits. But is there any way in which a state may exempt itself from the operation of a power vested in congress alone; or does this exempting power depend on the mode in which it is exercised by a state? But Massachusetts, it is said, may exempt herself from the operation of this power of congress, by declaring slaves not to be property within her limits; and if so, may not Mississippi exempt herself in a

similar manner, by declaring, as she has done, that the slaves of other states shall not be merchandize within her limits. Cannot the state say, you may take back these slaves from our limits, but they shall not be an article of merchandise here; or may she not say, your slaves in other states shall not be introduced for sale here, or if so, our laws will emancipate them; or as Maryland now does, send them to Africa, if they will go, and if not, continue them as slaves in the state, but annul the sale by the importer? And must the state have previously emancipated all negroes who had been slaves within her limits, in order that she may be permitted to emancipate or forbid the sale of other negroes introduced as slaves from other states? A certain number of negroes are now slaves in Mississippi, and articles of merchandise by virtue of state laws and state power, within her limits. Now it is conceded, that the state may declare all these not to be slaves, or not to be merchandize, within her limits. Yet it is contended she may not make the same declaration as to the negroes of other states when introduced into the state.

"A state may, it is conceded, establish or abolish slavery within her limits; she may do it immediately, or gradually and prospectively; she may confine slavery to the slaves then born and living in the state, or to them and their descendants, or to those slaves in the state, and those introduced by emigrants, and not for sale, or those to be introduced within a certain date. All these are exercises of the unquestionable power of a state, and over which congress has no control or supervision. Or may congress supervise the state laws in this respect, and say to Massachusetts, and the other six states, who with her have abolished slavery, slaves from other states shall not against your laws be sold within your limits; but in all the remaining nineteen states where slavery does still exist, your laws against the sale of slaves from other states, shall be nugatory. Or may congress again, as between these nineteen states, say to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c., you have confined slavery to the slaves already within your limits, and make all born after a certain date, free; slaves from other states shall not there-

fore be sold in your states, but in all the other states, where the existing slaves, as well as their offspring, are held in bondage, all other slaves may be sold within your limits, from other states; if this be not so, slaves from other states may be sold in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey. Negro men who are held as slaves elsewhere, cannot be imported and sold as slaves in these states; because although negro men now there, are held and may be sold as slaves, yet the descendants of the female slaves, if there be any born hereafter, are to be free. And can it be seriously contended that this is so, and that upon an examination of the various conflicting provisions of state laws in this respect, as to slavery within their limits, shall depend the question whether congress, against the consent of the states, shall force upon some states, and not upon others, the sale of slaves within their limits, under a general comprehensive, uniform, supreme, and exclusive power to regulate commerce among all the states. The power to declare whether men shall be held in slavery in a state, and whether those only of a certain colour, who are already there, shall be held in slavery, or be articles of merchandize, and none others, or whether others introduced from other states shall also be held in slavery, or be articles of merchandize within her limits is exclusively a state power, over which it never was designed by the constitution, that congress should have the slightest control, to increase or decrease the number who should be held as slaves within their limits, or to retard or postpone, or influence in any way, directly or indirectly, the question of abolition. Such a power in all its effects and consequences, is a power, not to regulate commerce among the states, but to regulate slavery, both in and among the states. It is abolition in its most dangerous form, under the mask of a power to regulate commerce. It is clearly a power in congress to add to the number of slaves in a state against her will, to increase, and to increase indefinitely, slavery and the number of slaves in a state, against her authority. And if congress possess the power to increase slavery in a state, why not also the power to decrease it, and to regulate it at pleasure? Now it is a

power as conceded to increase slavery against the will of a state, within its limits, whence it would follow, that if a state desires more slaves, congress, under the same power, may forbid the transportation of slaves from any state to any other state, and thus decrease slavery as regards any state, against her will and pleasure. The truth is, if congress possess this power to 'regulate' the transportation and sale of slaves, from state to state, as it may all other articles of commerce, and slaves are to be placed on the same basis, under this supreme and exclusive power to regulate commerce, authority over the whole subject of slavery between and in the states, would be delegated to congress. And yet how strangely inconsistent are the arguments of the abolitionists; they say men are not property by virtue of any laws of congress or of the states; and yet that as such, commerce in them among the states may be regulated by congress, and by congress alone. We say, the character of merchandize, or property, is attached to negroes, not by any grant of power in the constitution of the United States, but by virtue of the positive law of the states in which they are found; and with these states alone rests the power to legislate over the whole subject, and to give to them, or take from them, either the whole or from any part or number of them, those already there, or those that may be introduced thereafter, in whole or in part, the character of merchandize or property, at their pleasure, and over all which state regulations congress has not the slightest power whatever. That this is so, follows from the admission, that a state can abolish slavery, and make all the slaves within her limits cease to be property. Massachusetts, it is said, may do this; and may, when done, prevent the sale of slaves within her limits. But may she therefore declare that horses, or cattle, or cotton, or any other usual article of commerce, shall not be property within her limits, and thereby prevent the sale by the importer of similar articles, introduced from abroad, or from any state in the union within her limits? Not unless she can abolish property and commerce, so far as she is concerned with all foreign nations, and with all her sister states, or regulate it at her pleasure, or prescribe the articles in regard to which it shall exist.

"As to these universal articles of commerce, known and recognized in all the states, and bought and sold in all the states, and the importation or exportation of which could be prohibited by no state; it was right and proper that the power of congress to regulate commerce among the states should apply, operating as such regulations would, with perfect equality, and uniformity upon all. But as regards slavery, which was a local matter, existing only in some states, and not in others, regarded as property in some states, and not in others, it would have been most unjust, that that very majority which did not recognize slaves as property in their own states, should by acts of congress regulate the transfer of them, and sale in and among other states, which did regard them to a certain extent as property. That the very states which refused within their limits to recognize slaves as property, should claim the power by their votes in congress, to regulate their transportation and sale in other states, is preposterous. They claim the power first, to exempt themselves from the alleged power of congress, to authorize or forbid commerce in slaves, and then assume the authority to apply this very power to other states, which prohibit the traffic, because they have not emancipated all other slaves already within their limits. Nay, the claim is still more preposterous; it is, that this power may be thus applied, by these states in congress, in Mississippi, but negro male slaves shall not be imported or sold in Pennsylvania, or New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island, because although the negro male slaves already there are continued as slaves, and may be sold as such, yet the descendants, should there be any of the female slaves, are emancipated. Slavery exists, as shall be shown, and slaves are property, and may be sold in these and other states, that are called 'free states'; and if the law of Mississippi, prohibiting the introduction and sale of slaves from other states is void, so is a similar law in all the states above enumerated, and slaves may now be lawfully imported and sold there. Mississippi has said these slaves shall not be merchandize within her limits. Can congress say they shall be merchandize? Can congress create in any state, the relation of master

and slave, not only in cases in which it does not exist, but in cases forbidden by the laws of the states? Can it make more masters and more slaves, than the state desires to have within her limits? And if it can create the relation of master and slave in a state, in cases forbidden by the state laws, why not in the same cases forbid the creation of the relation, or dissolve it, when it already exists? If congress can increase and extend slavery in a state, against its wishes, why not limit it or abolish it; or can it create, and not destroy, enlarge, but not diminish? The commerce to be regulated, was that universal commerce in articles of merchandize, regarded as such in all the states, and throughout the nation, and which existed in every state, and which commerce was not to be created or abolished by state laws, but was subject between all the states to the supreme, exclusive, and uniform regulation of congress. It was commerce in merchandize, and regarded as such by all the states, and not commerce in persons, that was thus designed to be regulated by congress. Commerce, if it may be so called, in persons, was not the thing intended to be regulated by congress, for it was local and peculiar, and not national; but commerce in the broad and comprehensive sense of the term, embracing all the states by uniform regulations, and designed not to depend on state laws, but to be as eternal as the existence of the union, and co-extensive with the operation of the constitution, which embraced in all its power the whole union, and all its parts. This power as to commerce being 'supreme and exclusive,' it could recognize no conflicting or concurrent state legislation, and being a power to authorize and enforce this commerce in and among all the states, and from state to state, it could compel, as this court have decided, every state to permit the sale by the importer of all these articles of commerce within her limits. If slaves are articles of commerce, in view of this power, congress can force their sale by the importer in every state; for no state, if these be articles of commerce in view of this power, can remove them from this list, by declaring them not to be property within her limits. And if a state may so defeat this clause of the constitution, as to one class of articles embraced

within the commercial power, by declaring them not to be property within her limits, she may make the same declaration as to any or all other articles embraced by this power of the constitution; forbid their importation or sale within her limits, and thus regulate at her pleasure, or annihilate the commerce between that state and all the other states. It follows then as a consequence, either that each state at its pleasure may, as to that state, annihilate the whole commercial power of congress, by declaring what shall or shall not be property within her limits, or that slaves were designated by the constitution as 'persons,' and as such, never designed to be embraced in the power of congress to regulate commerce among the states. The commerce to be regulated was among the several states. Among what states? Was it among all, or only some of the states? Was it a national or sectional commercial code, which congress was to adopt? Was it to operate between Virginia and Massachusetts? Was it a regulation that would operate only between two states; but not as between one of these states, and another remote or adjacent state? Was it a regulation confined to particular states, and to be changed by those states, as from time to time they might change their policy upon any local question, and was it a local or general commerce? Could it regulate by compulsory enactments an inter-state commerce in particular articles between certain states, because those states permitted an internal commerce in similar articles; but be authorized to extend no similar regulations to other states forbidding such internal commerce? If so, congress must look to state laws to see what articles are vendible in a state, or what internal commerce is authorized by it within its limits, before it can apply a general regulation of commerce to that state. Or does the authority of congress to regulate the external or internal state commerce, depend upon the manner in which a state exercises its own power of regulating its internal commerce? If so, and this be the rule as to slaves as embraced in the commercial power, it must be the same as to all other articles embraced in the same power; and the power of congress in regulating commerce among the states will depend

upon the permission of each state in regulating its internal commerce. But not only was this uniformity in regulations of commerce required by the nature and national object of the grant; but the constitution, in the same article in which the power is given to congress to regulate commerce among the states, expressly declares, that 'No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another.' Now, if Massachusetts and Mississippi both forbid by law the introduction of slaves as merchandize, and congress enact a law, or this court make a decree, by virtue of which, slaves are forced into the ports of Mississippi for sale, but cannot be forced for the same purpose of sale into the ports of Massachusetts, a direct preference is given by a 'regulation of commerce,' to the ports of one state over those of another. It is a preference, if one state may be permitted to exclude from introduction for sale within her ports, what another state is compelled to receive for sale. It is a preference which is asked in this case, to follow as a 'regulation of commerce,' by virtue of this very provision in the constitution itself, and in the absence of all congressional enactments, as if the constitution created these very preferences as to commerce, which it was the very object of that instrument to prohibit.

"As, then, it is conceded by our opponents, that the laws of Massachusetts do prohibit the introduction of slaves in her ports, and are constitutional, the same admission must follow as to the laws of Mississippi, forbidding the introduction of slaves in her ports; or a preference will be given by the constitution itself, by 'a regulation of commerce,' to the 'ports of one state over those of another.' But these state laws are not regulations of commerce, but of slavery. They relate to the social relations which exist in a state; the relation of master and slave; they define the 'person' to whom that relation shall be extended, and how and under what circumstances it shall be further introduced into the state. Each state has exclusive power over the social relations which shall exist, or be introduced within her limits, and upon what terms and conditions, and what persons or number of

persons shall be embraced within these regulations. The condition of master and slave is a relation; it is universally designated as the relation of master and slave; and whether this relation shall be confined to the slaves already within the limits of the state, or be extended to others to be introduced in future, is a matter exclusively within the power of each state. The relation of master and slave, of master and apprentice, of owner and redemptioner, of purchaser and convict sold, or guardian and ward, husband and wife, parent and child, are all relations depending exclusively on the municipal regulations of each state; and over which, to create or abolish, limit or extend, introduce or exclude, or regulate in any manner whatever, congress has no authority; and congress can no more say that a state shall have forced upon her more slaves than she desires, because there are slaves there, than that a state shall have more apprentices than she desires, because there are apprentices within her limits. I speak as a question of law, and not as instituting any moral comparison between slaves and apprentices; for from the ranks of the latter have risen some of the greatest and best men, and purest patriots. The master has the right, not created by the constitution of the United States, or to be regulated by it, but created and regulated by state laws, to the services of the slave for life, the time prescribed by the laws of the state. The master has the right to the services of the apprentice for the time prescribed by the laws of the state; and both, if the state permits, may assign to others their right to these services under the directions of state laws. Can therefore the right to the services of an apprentice, assignable in one state, be assigned in another state against her will, with the introduction of the apprentice there, because the services of other apprentices already there, are assignable in that state?

"Under the laws introduced into at least two of the free states of this union, malefactors might have been sold for a term as long as life, and their services might be assignable for life by the purchaser at public sale, to any third person whatever; these malefactors, in the language of the constitution of the union, in regard to slaves,

were "persons bound to service" for life, and their services for life assignable by their masters; and yet could these malefactors, thus assignable, be introduced into, and be lawfully transferred in any other state, against her laws, because other malefactors already there, were there assignable; yet, a malefactor bound to service for life, purchased by his master at public sale, and liable to be sold by his owner, is as much his property in contemplation of law, as the slave can be of his master. He is in fact a slave, having forfeited his liberty, and subjected himself to perpetual services by his crimes; a manner in which the most rigid moralists admit that servitude may be justifiably established. Yet such slaves cannot be transported and sold from state to state; though by the very constitution of Ohio and other of the free states, 'slavery' is expressly authorized therein, 'for the punishment of crimes.' It does not exist in Mississippi as in the free states, only as a 'punishment for crimes,' but from a state necessity, equally strong and powerful; the necessity of self-government, and of self-protection, and as best for the security and welfare of both races. Slavery in Mississippi is a relation of perpetual pupilage and minority, and of contented dependence on the one hand, and of guardian care and patriarchal power on the other, a power essential for the welfare of both parties. With us the slaves greatly preponderate in numbers, and it is simply a question whether they shall govern us, or we shall govern them; whether there shall be an African or Anglo-American government in the state; or whether there shall be a government of intelligent white free men, or of ignorant negro slaves, to emancipate whom would not be to endow them with the moral or intellectual power to govern themselves or others, but to sink into the same debasement and misery which marks their truly unhappy condition in the crowded and pestilent alleys of the great cities of the north, where they are called free, but they are in fact a degraded caste, subjected to the worst of servitude, the bondage of vice, of ignorance, of want and misery. And if such be their condition where they are few in number and surrounded by their sympathising friends, how would it be where there are hundreds

of thousands of them, and how in states where they greatly preponderate in number? Their emancipation, where such is the condition of the country, would be to them the darkest abyss of debasement, misery, vice and anarchy. And yet to produce this very result, is the grand object of that party in the north that demands of congress to regulate trade among the states, not really with the view to prohibit that traffic, for it is prohibited by the slave-holding states, but with an ultimate view to emancipation as an incidental consequence from the action of congress over the subject. And here let me observe, that an adherence by the south to the policy in which they are now united, in abolishing as states the inter-state slave trade, and the support of that power and of that policy on the part of the states, by the decree of this court, and the denial of the power of congress, will do much to secure the continuance of that policy and to silence the most powerful of the batteries of abolition.

"Another great mistake, maintained in the north by this party, is the ground now assumed in claiming this regulating commercial power of congress, that by the law of the slave-holding states, slaves are merely chattels and not persons, and therefore are subjected to the power of congress to regulate commerce among the states. If it be intended to convey the idea that slaves are designed to be deprived by the laws of the south of the qualities and character of persons, and of the rights of human beings, and to degrade them in all things to the level of chattels, of inanimate matter, or of the brutes that perish, it is a radical error, and one that has been too long circulated uncontradicted by the abolitionists. In some of the states, they are designated as real, as immovable property. Is it therefore designed to deprive them of the power of locomotion, or to convert them into a part of the land or soil of a state? Far otherwise. Nor does their designation as general property convert them into mere chattels, and deprive them of the character of human beings. In the south this is well understood, and no such meaning is attached to these terms, but in the north they are seized on and perverted, as if slaves were regarded and treated by us as inanimate matter. No, they are, in

every thing essential to their real welfare, regarded as persons; as such they are responsible and punishable for crimes; as such to kill them in cold blood is murder; to treat them with cruelty or refuse them comfortable clothing and food, is a highly penal offence; as such they are nursed in sickness and infancy, and even in old age, with care and tenderness, when the season of labour is past. To call them chattels or real estate, no more makes them in reality land or merely inanimate matter, than to call the blacks of the north freemen, makes them so in fact. When the constitution of Mississippi, and laws made in pursuance thereof, require that slaves shall be treated with humanity, commands that they shall be well clothed and fed, and that unreasonable labour shall not be exacted, are these provisions applicable to a mere chattel, which the owner may mutilate or destroy at pleasure? No. The master has no right to the flesh and blood, the bones and sinews of any man under the laws of the south; this is an abolition slander, and the right is to the services of the slave, so declared expressly in the laws of the south, and so recognized in the constitution of the United States, where slaves are described as 'persons bound to service or labour,' and so unanimously decided by the highest court of our state. Jones' case, Walker's Miss. Rep. 83. The right of the master is to the services of the slave, a right accruing only by virtue of the law of the state, and upon the terms therein prescribed. The rights of the master and slave are reciprocal under the laws of the south; the right of the master is to the services of the slave for life, and the right of the slave as secured by law, to humane and proper treatment, to comfortable lodging, food and clothing, and to proper care in infancy, sickness and old age. These are the wages paid, and that must be paid by the master; and if the doctrine of the abolitionists be correct, that slave labour is dearer than free labour, then higher wages are thus paid in the south than in the north for the same amount of labour; and that it is much higher wages than is paid to the toiling and starving millions of Europe, no candid man will deny. Let me be accused of making no comparison between slaves and my countrymen, the free

white labourers of all the states. No; they are fitted morally and intellectually for self-government, and the slaves are not so fitted; and therefore, even for their own benefit, must be controlled by others. In truth, then, slavery is a condition of things; it is a relation, the relation of master and slave, the *status servi* of the Roman and Grecian law, so designated and recognized as a relation in the days of the Jewish Theocracy, as well as under the christian dispensation. By all these laws it was designated as a relation, and as such we have seen it expressly recognized in the constitution of the United States, where slaves are called 'persons held to service of labour.' How far they shall be so bound is exclusively a question of state authority, and over which the congress of the union possess not the slightest authority. The states and the states only can say what persons shall be bound to service, and when they shall be released, and to what persons this relation shall be extended, and whether it shall be confined to those slaves already within the limits of a state, or be enlarged so as to include all others who may be introduced within their limits; and it is the abolitionists who must wholly deprive the slaves of the character of persons, and reduce them in all respects to the level of merchandize, before they can apply to them the power of congress to regulate commerce among the states.

"We have seen in the course of this argument, that ten of the twelve states which framed the constitution, have passed laws, many of them cotemporaneous with the formation of the constitution or almost immediately after, prohibiting the introduction from other states, of slaves for sale, and have enforced these laws. The similar provisions have been made in effect by all the states in their laws or constitutions, and that these provisions have all been enforced, that the supreme judicial tribunal of every state, (where the question has been made,) have again and again, during a period of more than fifty years, declared these laws to be valid; and that the Supreme Court of the United States have, again and again, unanimously recognized their constitutionality, and carried them into execution; that at least six of the new states

have affirmed in their constitutions the power to pass those laws, and that congress (sometimes by an unanimous vote) have on all those occasions, commencing in 1792, and terminating in 1836, conceded that these constitutions affirming this power, were 'not repugnant to the constitution of the United States.' Does not all this settled action of all the departments of the governments of the states, and of the United States, fix the construction of the constitution in this respect, and leave it no longer an open question for the investigation of this court. This court have declared that 'a cotemporary exposition of the constitution practised and acquiesced under for a period of years, fixes the construction, and the courts will not shake or control it.' 1 Cranch, 299. And now, will this court, by a single decree, overthrow the law as settled for more than fifty years, by all the departments of the governments of the states, and of the union? If so, it must sacrifice at once a hetacomb of acts and decisions, and change the structure of the government itself. It would be a judicial revolution, more sudden and overwhelming in its effects, than the last great revolutions in France and England, which were little more than changes of dynasty. I have called it a revolution, not a usurpation; but the most daring usurper never effected so sudden and extensive a change in the civil and political rights, and settled internal policy of a nation. These have been generally spared by conquerors and usurpers, or if not spared, they were not subverted by a single decree, to be at once proclaimed and executed. But here, the moment this decree shall be recorded, the revolution will have commenced and terminated, and this court will re-assemble among the fragments of laws subverted, and decisions overthrown. The constitutions of six of the states, the laws of all upon this subject, and a series of uninterrupted judicial decisions for more than half a century, will be at once obliterated. With them will fall the acts of congress upon this question, from the admission of the first, to the last of the new states, and many confirmatory decisions of this tribunal. This decree affects the past, the present and

future. Reaching back to 1788, it annuls all the state laws forbidding the introduction of slaves, and re-enslaves all, and the descendants of all that were liberated by those statutes. And all this is to be effected by a single decree; no time allowed to prepare for the mighty change, but it is to be the work of an instant.

“So much for the past and present, and now for that dark and gloomy future, when this court, having annulled all the state laws on this subject, shall announce that it is a question over which the power of congress is supreme and exclusive. Could the union stand the mighty shock, and if it fell, we look upon the victims of anarchy and civil war, resting wearied for the night from the work of death and desolation, to renew in the morning the dreadful conflict? Throwing our eyes across the Atlantic, shall we behold the consequences, when the overthrowing of this union, this second fall of mankind, shall be there promulgated? Shall we there see those daring men, now pleading the cause of self-government around the thrones of monarchs, sink despairing from the conflict, amid the shouts of tyrants exulting over the prostrate liberties of man. And who can expect such a decree from this tribunal? No, this court will now prove, that however passion or prejudice may sway for a time any other department of this government, here the rights of every section of this union are secure. And when, as I doubt not, all shall now be informed, that over the subject of slavery, congress possesses no jurisdiction; the power of agitators will expire, and this decree will be regarded as a re-signing and re-sealing of the constitution.”

Will not this speech, will not the acts and deeds of southern legislatures—will not the resistance that they have yielded to the foreign as well as domestic or inter-state slave trade, convince our brethren of the north that there is no disposition to blink this question. That the south is ready to meet it and does meet it full in the face. And that all our efforts are used, so far as is consistent and safe, to ameliorate and better the condition of the African race, under the circumstances in which they are placed. *We make no appeal to abolitionists, properly such.* We appeal to those who are yet undecided, to

those who resist abolitionism *direct* and *immediate*, here, in our midst; we appeal to the friends of our union, the lovers of a country so dear to every patriot, to the friends and supporters in the north of the cause of humanity and our common christianity, and ask, will brethren abide by the constitution and union of our common country? (We have married your daughters, and your sons have married ours. They dwell in our midst and are ready to share our fate. Will you consent that the midnight assassin, upon the beck or call of abolitionism, shall be let loose on your children to butcher them and us, and break down our union, bought so dear, at no less a price than the life's blood of your own fathers?) Around the altars of your God we have worshipped, we are members of the same churches, servants of the same Saviour, descended from the same stock, destined, we trust, to live in the same heaven. At one fell stroke will you sever us forever from you? Will you force us to withdraw ourselves and our trade from your cities, and cut your acquaintance, and have no intercourse? We trust not. Finally, will you consent that fanatics shall put the firebrand to our dwellings, render our country desolate, dis honour our wives, pollute our daughters, apply the knife to our throats, the dagger to our bosoms, and slaughter with us your own children, to carry out the cruel policy of Great Britain, that knows to feel for none but herself? Shall one or more of the stars and stripes on our national flag, that has waved in triumph over the blue waters of every ocean in the hour of battle, as in times of peace, and on the land as on the sea, be stricken forever from the same? Shall your ministers, God's messengers, and ours, and you and we, meet no more at the same altar, not worship harmoniously under the wide-spreading branches of the tree of liberty, where none dare to make us afraid? And shall we be forced to withdraw our *sons* and *daughters* from your schools, and dismiss those whom we have employed as their teachers, and let there be a line of separation now and forever? Brethren, what say you? Ah, dark will be the day when these things come to pass. We pray that that tongue may be struck dumb, and that arm be paralized, that would aid in the accom-

plishment of an end so vile and so base. (May heaven, in mercy, grant our prayer !

We invite you, brethren of the north and east, we beg, we entreat you, if you will not hear and read us, read attentively, and with coolness and calmness, the admirable speech of senator Walker and those of others herein quoted. We believe that no intelligent, candid man, can peruse the same, without coming to the same *decision* with the United States Court, so far as his own mind is concerned. Can you, fellow-citizens, believe that such a man as Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, a man not only pure as a politician, but like Cæsar's wife, free from suspicion, would sacrifice the highest honour of his native state, so freely conferred on him, unless there had been a deep and an abiding conviction that *foreign* interference in the internal concerns of a state would blast forever our fondest hopes of the permanency of this republic ? We pray you ponder *your ways* before it is *too late!*

But we turn for a moment to the south. We have spoken freely already respecting the duties devolving on it. We have said that slaves are a trust, placed by the providence of God in the hands of southerners, and every master is called to discharge his duties, with forbearance, patience and fidelity. If we know any thing of our own heart, we have never felt disposed to waver respecting our duty ; but have openly and publicly proclaimed the obligations of those owning slaves to train and govern them so as to ameliorate and better their condition here, and guide them, that their end may be everlasting life.

Many of you, fellow-citizens, have extensive farms. At a small expenditure two or three neighbours can erect a neat church, in which your families (when at home) and servants may regularly worship. A few hundred dollars will provide a minister who has been raised among you, and knows the character of the colored man. Let such an one be obtained in every neighbourhood to be their pastor and your chaplain. Many have done this, in some of the southern states ; and whilst the moral character of their servants has been bettered abundantly, they have in most instances by their attention, industry,

and faithfulness, amply remunerated their owners. Some of the most interesting coloured congregations of the south, thus provided for, are now under the care of *self-mortifying, self-denying* ministers, chosen with special reference to the benefit of the coloured people.

When there is a church in your vicinity, you must not only give your servants permission to go, but see that they do go. Make them regard the Sabbath as a day of rest and worship. In order to do this, give them time to wash their clothing and dispose of those articles during the week, which may be made by them for sale, that God's Holy Law may not be infringed by you, or "your man servant, or maid servant." "*Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.*" Permit no ardent spirits to be used. The use of this has done the negroes and Indians more harm than an age can repair, and many a master has it ruined, for time and eternity. You know the demoralizing effects of hundreds of free negroes being gathered together in neighborhoods. These often induce the slaves to plunder the property of their masters, to sustain *them* in idleness, prodigality, and the worst of vices. To remedy this evil and better the condition of the slaves as well as the free coloured people, unite your efforts to *colonize* the latter and *let all*, as their owners free them, be sent out full to AFRICA, there to aid in civilizing and reforming the numerous heathen of that vast continent.

The efforts used by abolitionists to provoke, insult and degrade you in the estimation of your fellow-citizens and the world, should only incite you to pursue still your onward course in seeking to ameliorate the condition of your slaves, and to discharge all the high and holy duties devolving on you, whilst they, in God's providence, are under your care. Frankness and candour, however, constrain us to say, it does behoove you to be on your guard. Fanaticism is the most dangerous of all the influences, to which man is subject. Opposition only makes it more ardent, until it naturally exhausts its own fury, or is constrained by the force of circumstances to yield; or is at once overpowered by the weight of public opinion, and public authority. If, however, they persist in sending and circulating their inflammatory tracts and emissaries,

to stir up and excite, on the one hand, the slaves to deeds of insurrection and crime, and on the other, to provoke the owners to violence and cruelty, it is your duty to take care of yourselves, your wives, your children, and *your servants* too. Therefore you ought, not only to resist them, but hold no communications by *trade* or *otherwise* with such.

Your overseers should be men of piety and tried integrity, who will not be found instigating the slaves to evil, by inculcating bad principles or by cruelty. One abolitionist employed as such may do more harm than one thousand of a different cast. If our northern and eastern brethren will not regard our constitutional rights and respect our condition, then let them, their goods and their wares stay at home, and let us purchase them elsewhere, and import, if we cannot make them ourselves. Say not we cannot get them. The products of your farms will command all the necessary means, and the money will bring them from any portion of the globe.

We have just received a pamphlet written by an Englishman, THOMAS CLARKSON, sent through the public mails of the United States, and addressed to ministers in the slave-holding states, in which at one fell stroke he cuts them all off, as the *vilest of the vile*, among all the *vile hypocrites* of God's earth, because they do not denounce you as "rogues," "adulterers," "fornicators," "perjured," "villanous murderers." It is entitled "A letter to the clergy of various denominations in the SLAVE-HOLDING STATES OF AMERICA, by Thomas Clarkson. Second edition." And a copy of it is designed to be sent to every minister whose name could be obtained in all the south. The vile slanders of this abominable tract, sent out by this abolition chief, at the call of a party of fanatics, are almost without a parallel for presumption and impudence, even among the deeds of abolitionists. And shall the descendants of those who bared their bosoms to the fiery ball to deliver and secure, free from British tyranny, these states, join hands with such impudent foreigners, to crush forever the south, that fair portion of our republic.

In closing our remarks in which we have fearlessly advanced our opinions, opinions which we believe to be

both true and tenable, we calmly ask is it not time for the south, and is it not time for the north, as well as the south to wake up? Is it not time for the south to wake up, when in the city of Montreal alone, it is computed, (and we have the evidence before us,) that upwards of twenty thousand coloured persons, who have absconded from their owners in the south and south-west are there collected by *abolition* and *British* aid, and are now to be transported to Jamaica *free of all charge*. Is it not time for this entire nation to wake up to the imminent danger which threatens to overwhelm them and their liberties. England aspires to be the mistress of the world, she seeks to dictate to every power on earth. Her annual expenditures are \$110,000,000, which added to the support of a national church and the interest on her national debt alone, amounts to the enormous sum, independent of other charges, of \$210,000,000, by which, the one-third of the wages of every laborer is consumed. Such are subject to a *capitation tax*. Poor creatures! plunged in poverty and wretchedness, deprived of the pittance, afforded by their daily earnings, reduced to absolute starvation, so that one-sixth of her whole population are paupers. And yet she not only dares to dictate to this nation, but silently smuggles into Jamaica the slaves of the south and south-west, by the way of Canada, *free of charge*. Her emissaries audaciously attempt to insult alike the *PRESIDENT* of the United States and the common labourer, the minister in the sacred desk, and the hearer in his pew. We have before us at this moment a letter from a gentleman in England, in which are these remarks, that evidently have their meaning.

"Our philanthropic zeal for the suppression of the slave trade makes a good cloak to cover our jealousy of your commerce there and in the Indian Archipelago. I cannot but deeply regret to see the hostile feeling growing up in this country against America. One thing has contributed much to this and that is the bitter spirit of the abolitionists here towards the slave states. This feeling has been roused up of late by the vilest harangues of some delegates from the American Anti-*

* See the Foreign Quarterly Review.

Slavery party, who have been holding forth in all our large towns in a most violent manner. When they hear all these things from Americans, they believe them, and truly long for a war, in order to land some few thousands of coloured troops from Jamaica, proclaim liberty to the slaves and destroy the whole union by a servile war. Such is the wish of a great part of the *religious world*, as they (these abolitionists) *call themselves*. Depend upon it, your abolitionists *at home* and *their delegates here* have done more to hinder the boundary question from being fairly settled, than any other class of people or any individual whatever."

Such also have been the effects of abolitionism in the West Indies, that not long since an attempt, as is well known, was made by the negroes of Jamaica on Cuba itself. One was arrested in New Orleans, calling himself a British subject, who hailed from the same island. And what will be the end if these things be permitted by those, who may stop at once the torrent by breasting it. We ask once for all, is it not time for the south to wake up?

The day has certainly come for action, and if by an intercourse, the result of trade, our peace is to be endangered; if by sending our SONS and DAUGHTERS *northward* and *eastward* to be educated, we are to expose their feelings to the insults of a fanaticism the vilest imaginable; if by the admission of hawkers and pedlars in our midst, we are to open our doors to midnight assassins, wretches, who would stir up our slaves to deeds of cruelty and murder; if our WIVES and DAUGHTERS are to be dis- honoured, our sons, brothers, and fathers to be slaughtered, through the instrumentality of fanatics, who, filled with spiritual pride, are impudent in audacity, dexterous in hypocrisy, artful, cunning, low in their views, and base in their purposes, then let us bid the north and the east an adieu forever.* Let us prepare to manu-

* A gentleman with whom we are personally and intimately acquainted, has been travelling and visiting the colleges in the United States, to interest their professors and students, and induce them to unite with thousands of others who have petitioned congress to provide a school for soldiers' children, to be located on a portion of the public land in the south. He called on one of the northern colleges, and on his arrival in one of our cities, received an answer that they would unite in his petition, provided his school should be open for blacks as well as whites.

facture our own *fabrics*, encourage our own *merchants*, raise up and liberally endow the *schools* and *colleges* of the south, educate there those sons and daughters, strong in that very union which is denounced by northern and eastern fanatics. Let us say to *all the earth* that the power, mental, moral and physical, with which the God of nature has endowed us, and all the advantages arising from the strength of our position, shall be improved and exercised to prevent an interference in the internal concerns of our states. Let no man or set of men dare to meddle with our rights, civil or social, individual or collective, religious or political.

Brethren of the north and the south,—the east and the west—once more we appeal to you,—we appeal to every American, and in the name of our common country ask, will you permit your *unnatural* enemies to urge on this glorious union to a dissolution? Do you not perceive the tremendous consequences which must necessarily ensue? Alas! they cannot be fully known till that day when the earth and its works shall be burned up. A part of them only can be developed, when probably it is too late to provide an ample remedy. The history of fanaticism is too well understood for you to trust to its delusive smiles—its sycophantic fawnings—its hypocritical professions—its whinings and rantings. It is a torrent rushing down a tremendous steep ready to overwhelm *all* in ruin. It knows *nothing* of *self-distrust, modesty, humility, love* and *christian forbearance*. Fanatics and enthusiasts in their own estimation are ever right, and their notions and dogmas are the only rule of faith and practice. To this you must bow or bear their curse. Resistance, they think, is an iniquity not to be pardoned. Can it therefore be wrong, in view of all these facts, for us to conclude with the advice of **HIM** “who spake as never man spake?” “**WHAT I SAY UNTO ONE, I SAY UNTO ALL, WATCH.**”